

1981

The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1800-1827

Ruby Orders. Osborne

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The College of William and Mary in Virginia

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The College of William and Mary in Virginia

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA, 1800-1827

RUBY ORDERS OSBORNE

A Dissertation Submitted to
The Faculty of the School of Education
In Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

Williamsburg, Virginia


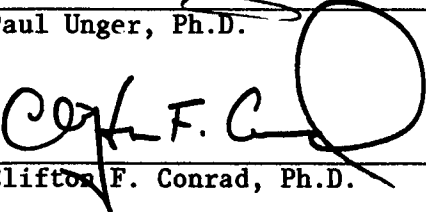

February 1981

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA, 1800-1827

by

Ruby Orders Osborne

Approved March 1981 by


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ABSTRACT

This study relates the history of The College of William and Mary in Virginia during the first twenty-seven years of the nineteenth century, 1800-1827, and examines the history in terms of the leadership provided for the College for the purpose of determining whether or not the College experienced a loss of leadership during the period of the study. The history is related chronologically through the administrations of President James Madison, 1800-1812; President John Bracken, 1812-1814; President John Augustine Smith, 1814-1826; and President William Holland Wilmer, 1826-1827, and is examined in terms of the leadership experienced by the College during each administration. The study concludes with a summary analysis of the extent to which, if any, the College experienced a loss of leadership during the period 1800-1827. The historical method and principles of historical research were employed in the examination of College papers, manuscript collections, rare books, archival records, and historical documents.

On the basis of her history, one must conclude that the College of William and Mary in Virginia experienced a loss of leadership during the years 1800-1827; yet, at no time during this period did she experience a total loss of leadership. Within the context of the Charter, four entities may be identified as occupying leadership positions: the Chancellor, the Board of Governors and Visitors, the Society, and the President. The position of Chancellor was vacant

throughout this period; consequently, the College experienced the loss of whatever leadership this entity may have provided. The other three positions fluctuated in the exercise of their leadership roles: providing no leadership; a coercive leadership; a well-intentioned but misdirected leadership; and a strong, wise, productive leadership, the result of a concerted leadership posture. Two other entities not specifically charged with leadership responsibilities exerted an influence, both positive and negative, on the leadership experienced by the College during the period of this study: the community of Williamsburg and the alumni.

PREFACE

In the spring of 1975, while researching the history of The College of William and Mary in Virginia and the history of Yale University, the author became cognizant of the fact that a history of The College of William and Mary during the first two centuries was being written and was to be published the following year, but a definitive history of the College in the subsequent centuries had yet to be written. Encouraged by Dr. Dan Gerber, the author undertook the present study of the history of the College, limited in scope to the first twenty-seven years of the nineteenth century, in the hope that it would help formulate a beginning for a definitive history of the College in the nineteenth century. The research for the study was begun, however, under the guidance and encouragement of Dr. Donald J. Herrmann. To him I wish to express my deep appreciation for his constant support and guidance throughout the research and writing for this study.

The thoughtful guidance, encouragement, and attention to scholarship on the part of Dr. Paul Unger and Dr. Clifton Conrad, members of my committee, are gratefully acknowledged and much appreciated. The guidance, assistance, and continuing interest of the late Herbert Ganter and his awareness of the difficulties arising from the fragmented nature of the available evidence were a source of encouragement during the research for this study. The time and generous assistance of Gordon Vleit is gratefully acknowledged. The patience and

assistance of the Special Collections' staff at the College of William and Mary, notably Archivist, Kay Domine; Curator of Rare Books, Henry Grunder; and Researcher, Pam Boll are much appreciated; and a special appreciation is expressed to the Curator of Manuscripts, Margaret Cook, for her continued interest and assistance. To the other professors whose instruction and guidance made my arrival at this point a reality, namely Dr. James Yankovich, Dr. William Bullock, Dr. Ronald Brown, Dr. Thomas Heacock, Dr. Maurice Duke, Dr. Arnold Fleshood, and to Dr. Gordon Davies, director of my internship, may I say thank you for a most rewarding experience. To Pat Tyree who carefully reproduced each page of this document and whose patient cooperation has made the completion of this work a reality, I express my deep appreciation.

This dissertation is dedicated to my family—to my husband, Scott, sine qua non; and to my two sons, Scott and Lee; and to Jil, a gift from my son Scott.

Ruby O. Osborne

Richmond, Virginia
February 3, 1981

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In an article in The William and Mary Quarterly in October 1938, Earl Gregg Swem, a Virginia historian and librarian of the College of William and Mary, projected a four-volume history of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, a history to be prepared after five to ten years of research. In the bicentennial year, 1976, the first volume, covering the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was published;¹ and in the "Foreword" of this work, the incumbent President, Thomas Ashley

¹In his "Acknowledgements" to his work, Their Majesties Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Washington, D. C.: Hennage Creative Printers, 1976), the first volume of the history of The College of William and Mary [hereinafter referred to either as the College or as William and Mary], Jack E. Morpurgo, an alumnus of the College and a professor at the University of Leeds, notes that "...almost forty years [have passed] since that great librarian and fine man, Earl Gregg Swem, first suggested that one day I must come to recording the early history of William and Mary. A suggestion from Dr. Swem had all the force of an order and so it was that, when the Endowment Association and the Society of the Alumni honored me with an invitation to write this book, the summons was irresistible not only because it gave me a chance to repay debts of friendship to many who serve the College through those two bodies, nor yet because I myself owe so much to William and Mary, but because I could hear echoing through the invitation the quiet but insistent tones of my old friend, teacher, and mentor."

Graves, Jr., states that "We look forward to the time when the subsequent centuries can be undertaken."¹ It is important that this work be continued.

Several early cursory histories of the College include the nineteenth century or portions of the nineteenth century;² and a recent study, "intended to demonstrate...the changes in responsibilities of the college president and the relationship between the president and the Board of Visitors,"³ focuses on "the relationship of the presidents of The College of William and Mary [in the nineteenth century] to their Board of Visitors."⁴ However, a definitive study of the College in the nineteenth century has yet to be written. Perhaps the present study, limited in scope to the first twenty-seven years of the nineteenth century (1800-1827), will help to formulate a possible beginning of such an historic work. The purpose of this study is to ascertain whether or

¹Ibid., p. xiii.

²Herbert B. Adams, The College of William and Mary: A Contribution to the History of Higher Education, With Suggestions for Its National Promotion (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887); E. G. Swem, Kentuckians at William and Mary College Before 1861 With a Sketch of the College Before That Date (Bound reprint from The Filson Club History Quarterly, July, 1949, XXIII, pp. 5-30); Lyon G. Tyler, The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Its History and Work, 1693-1907 (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet & Shepperson, 1907); The History of the College of William and Mary From Its Foundation, 1693 to 1870 (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1870); The History of the College of William and Mary From Its Foundation, 1660 to 1874 (Richmond: J. W. Randolph & English, 1874).

³Marilou Denbo, "The Nineteenth Century Presidents of the College of William and Mary" (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1974), p. 2.

⁴Ibid., p. 10.

not the College experienced a loss of leadership during these years, years characterized by historians as a period of "dark days"¹ and "years of decline."²

In the closing lines of his work covering the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jack E. Morpurgo notes that

In the post-Revolutionary years,...the vicissitudes which it [the College] suffered were as severe and more continuous than any that had rocked the foundation in the previous century....[and] the future held for the College tribulations and disasters which would make the difficulties of the last years of the century and all the years before appear in retrospect as no more than ephemeral setbacks to the even tenor in Paradise....[however] The optimism which, against all logic, had sustained the dream of a successful Virginian college since the early seventeenth century sustained it still in 1800 and this inheritance of confidence would give it strength even in the dark days of the nineteenth century.³

The vicissitudes of the post-Revolutionary years were "as severe [as] and more continuous than"⁴ those of the preceding years. The severance of political ties with England and the subsequent loss of economic support from the Crown, the changes in the College's relationship with the Anglican Church, the loss or redirecting of support from the state government, the depreciated currency, the removal of the capital to Richmond, and the changes in the curriculum and in the academic structure of the college all were realities which the College faced during the closing years of the eighteenth century. These same realities and/or the effects of these realities were present in the early years of the nineteenth century, the years, as previously noted, historians have

¹Morpurgo, Their Majesties Royall Colledge, p. 222.

²Adams, The College of William and Mary, pp. 56-58.

³Morpurgo, pp. 221-222.

⁴Ibid., p. 221.

characterized as "dark days" and "years of decline."¹ Did the College experience a loss of leadership during these early years of the nineteenth century?

To validly consider this hypothesis, one must first pose the question, What is leadership? Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines leadership as: "1. The office or position of a leader 2a: the quality of a leader: capacity to lead b: the act or an instance of leading c: a group of persons who lead." For the College of William and Mary, it would appear that the "dark days" of the early years of the nineteenth century were, at various times, due to a loss of leadership—the loss of the position of a leader, the loss of the capacity to lead, the loss of an act or an instance of leading, and/or the loss of a group of persons who lead. Therefore, for purposes of this study, Webster's definition of leadership is accepted in its entirety.

The author's interest in a definitive study of the College in the nineteenth century must be, for purposes of this study, limited in scope. The study begins in 1800, the point at which Morpurgo's authoritative work ends, and continues through 1827, covering the last twelve years of President Madison's administration and the administrations of Presidents Bracken, Smith, and Wilmer. The study continues through the administration of President Wilmer for three reasons primarily: the length of his administration, one year; the necessity, evidenced in the research, for his administration to seek resolutions to exigencies of the previous administration; and the transition, for the first time in the history of the College, from the traditionally clerical president to

¹See note 1 and note 2, p. 3.

a secular president, for one administration, and a subsequent return to a clerical president, a significant vicissitude of this period.

The paucity of historical data and documentation for much of the nineteenth century, evident in the initial stages of research for this study,¹ necessitated an exhaustive examination of available records and documents.² The historical method and principles of historical research³ were employed in the examination and treatment of primary source

¹Minutes of the Faculty are not available for the years 1784 to 1817 and 1836 to 1888; the earliest available records of the Board of Governors and Visitors date from 1859; no matriculation books are available for the years 1780 to 1827 (some available from 1827 on); little biographical and autobiographical material on the presidents and the faculty, very little newspaper material, very few textbooks and student notebooks, and no diplomas are available for this period. (Conference with William and Mary former Archivist, Herbert Ganter, August 16, 1977, and Archivist Kay Domine, September 5, 1977.)

²The College Building burned for a second and a third time during the nineteenth century, and many College records and documents were destroyed. The first fire, 29 October 1705, had totally consumed the building, "including the library and furniture" but had "left intact most of the thick walls." The second fire occurred on Founders Day, 8 February 1859; and the "contents of the library and most of the remnants of the great collection of scientific apparatus assembled in the late eighteenth century were destroyed." The third fire occurred 9 September 1862, the College Building having been "set on fire by soldiers of the 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry without authorization of their commander." Vital Facts, A Chronology of the College of William and Mary [hereinafter Vital Facts] (Williamsburg, Virginia: Earl Gregg Swem Library, 1978), pp. 4, 14, 15.

³Sources used for understanding the historical method and principles of historical research were John W. Best, Research in Education, Third Edition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977); Armand J. Galfo, Interpreting Educational Research, Third Edition (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1975); Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History, A Primer of Historical Method (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950); Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Robert Angell, The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology (New York: Social Science Research Council, n.d.); Allan Nevins, The Gateway to History (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company Incorporated, 1938); Deobold B. Van Dalen, Understanding Educational Research: An Introduction (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973).

materials,¹ and through historical criticism, external² and internal,³ the author attempted to derive historical evidence⁴ for this study. The primary source materials in William and Mary's special collections of rare books and archival and manuscript materials, housed in the Special Collections Division of The Swem Library of The College of William and Mary, were examined. Among the archival and manuscript materials are letters, newspaper clippings, personal notes, memorabilia, and other miscellaneous information which are filed in numbered boxes and/or folders. Those relevant to this study could be ascertained from the general archival and manuscript indices, and the author examined each piece of paper in each folder; infrequently, materials noted in the indices were missing and/or materials found in the folders were not noted in the indices. In addition to the College Papers and the Manuscript Collections, other relevant manuscript collections, rare books, and archival records and documents were examined including faculty minutes, account books, student note books, matriculation books, faculty-alumni folders, early catalogues and bulletins, and faculty and student speeches. The available historical documents of the College used in this study include The Charter, and Statutes, of The College of William and Mary, in

¹Best, pp. 348-349; Galfo, p. 14; Gottschalk, pp. 53-57, Gottschalk et al, pp. 10-12, Van Dalen, pp. 162-165.

²Best, p. 350; Galfo, pp. 14-15; Gottschalk, pp. 118-138; Van Dalen, pp. 167-169.

³Best, Ibid.; Galfo, Ibid.; Gottschalk, pp. 139-170; Van Dalen, pp. 169-170.

⁴Best, Ibid.; Nevins, pp. 203-204.

Virginia: In Latin and English;¹ "Charter granted by King William and Queen Mary, for the founding of William and Mary College in Virginia";² Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, The Charter, The Transfer, Acts, 1888, 1906;³ and Statutes of the University of William and Mary, 1792.⁴ The search for primary source materials also included the archival and manuscript collections of Colonial Williamsburg, the Virginia State Library, the Virginia Historical Society, the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, and the collections of The Paschall Library of the Society of the Alumni and Friends of the College.

A search in the card catalogues of The Swem Library revealed additional primary sources and numerous secondary sources.⁵ Examination of these materials provided additional historical data and background

¹The Charter, and Statutes, of The College of William and Mary, in Virginia. In Latin and English (Williamsburg: Printed by William Parks, M,DCC,XXXVI). The original Charter is lost and, to date, has not been found. A scholarly presentation of the story of this lost royal document is given by Frank B. Evans, The Story of The Royal Charter of The College of William and Mary, Botetourt Publications, Number 4 (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Botetourt Bibliographical Society, 1978).

²Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, The Present State of Virginia, and The College, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, 1940), pp. 72-94.

³Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, The Charter, The Transfer, Acts, 1888, 1906, VI, No. 3 (January, 1913).

⁴Statutes of the University of William and Mary, 1792 (Richmond: Augustine Davis, 1792). [Photostatic copy in William and Mary College Papers, Folder 4. Reprinted in The William and Mary Quarterly, 20, 1st ser. (July 1911):52-59.]

⁵Best, pp. 348-349; Galfo, p. 14; Gottschalk, p. 53; Gottschalk, et al, p. 11; Van Dalen, p. 163.

information on the College. The Virginia Historical Index¹ includes articles published in the Calendar of Virginia State Papers (1875-1893), Hening's Statutes at Large (1619-1792), Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine (1919-1929), The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser (1848-1853), and The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (1892-1930), many of which relate specifically to the history and development of the College. Another important source for information about William and Mary, also indexed in the Virginia Historical Index, is the William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine.² Two additional sources useful to the author were Vital Facts,³ a chronicle of important dates and events published by the College, and a typed list of selected books and articles relating to the history of the College.⁴ Data and information from many of these sources are cited in the following chapters. Also, the several cursory histories of the College⁵ and histories of higher education which refer to William and Mary were used as needed. References used in this study which include biographical data about the Presidents, Faculty, Visitors, or students

¹Earl G. Swem, Virginia Historical Index, 2 vols. (Roanoke, Virginia: Stone Printing Co., 1934-35).

²The William and Mary Quarterly [hereinafter WMQ], First Series, Volumes I-XXVII, 1892-1919; Second Series, Volumes I-X, 1920-1930. The Second Series is unindexed after 1930 except volume by volume. Index to the Third Series, Volumes I-XV, 1944-1958, and Volumes XVI-XXX, 1959-1973 (Williamsburg, Virginia: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1960, 1974).

³See note 2, p. 5.

⁴"A Selected List of Books and Articles Relating to the History of The College of William and Mary" (Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, 1972).

⁵See note 2, p. 2.

include A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of The College of William and Mary in Virginia, From 1693 to 1888; ¹ Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, Catalogue of The Alumni and Alumnae For the Years 1866-1932; ² Davis' A Williamsburg Galaxy; ³ and Tyler's Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography. ⁴

Within the context of the Charter, four entities may be identified as occupying leadership positions for the College of William and Mary in Virginia: the Chancellor, the Board of Governors and Visitors, the Society, and the President. Beginning with a look at the College as we find it in 1800 and proceeding chronologically through the administrations of President Madison, to 1812; President Bracken, 1812-1814; President Smith, 1814-1826; and President Wilmer, 1826-1827, this study relates the history of The College of William and Mary during the first twenty-seven years of the nineteenth century and examines the history during each of these four administrations in terms of the leadership the College experienced: the existence of offices or positions of leaders; the qualities of the leaders, their capacity to lead; the acts or in-

¹ A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of The College of William and Mary in Virginia, From 1693 to 1888 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1941).

² Bulletin, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, Catalogue of The Alumni and Alumnae For the Years 1866-1932, XXVI, No. 2, n.d. (Acknowledgment is made by the Alumni to "Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, President of the College, for publishing this Catalogue," p. < 6 >.)

³ Burke Davis, A Williamsburg Galaxy (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, 1968).

⁴ Lyon G. Tyler, Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography, 5 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1915).

stances of leading; and/or the groups of persons leading. The study concludes with a summary analysis of the extent to which the College experienced a loss of leadership, the hypothesis of this study, during the period 1800-1827. To accomplish this stated purpose, we look first at "The Madison Years, 1800-1812," relating the history of the College during these twelve years and examining the history in terms of the leadership the College experienced during these twelve years.

CHAPTER II

THE MADISON YEARS, 1800-1812

In the year 1800, James Madison was in the twenty-third year of his administration as President of The College of William and Mary in Virginia. Who was this man who had been the leader of the College during these critical years? Had he provided the leadership needed during such a difficult period in the College's history, or had the College indeed experienced a loss of leadership?

During these years the College had survived the nation's struggle for political independence, a struggle for independence from a country with which it perhaps more than any other institution in the nation was closely allied and a struggle for which it had provided many of the nation's most prominent leaders. The College had undergone a revision of its curricular and organizational structure, in 1779, in an effort to meet the needs of an emerging democracy, abolishing its two Chairs of Divinity and its Grammar School; establishing a Chair of Modern Languages, a Chair of Medicine, and a Chair of Law; and instituting an elective system of study. It had survived the loss of its two primary sources of income, tax revenues and funds from the Boyle Bequest—

a loss precipitated by the economic crises of the country and the conflict with Britain, and had gained subsequently, in 1784, the grant of the palace lands and other property by the Legislature of Virginia.¹ It had survived the loss of political influence, having been deprived of its representation in the Legislature, 23 June 1776.² It had survived the removal of the capital from Williamsburg to Richmond and the concomitant loss of political influence and of a source of invigorating spirit for itself and for its students which being at the heartbeat of the Commonwealth—and of the nation—had provided. It had survived the disorienting effects of the separation of Church and State, the rising influence of dissenters, and the accusations of embracing the doctrine of Deism. It had survived a changed relationship with the Established Church, the Church of England, which had heretofore provided its Faculty, its Chancellors (except for two³), and its Presidents. Even in 1800, its Faculty were predominantly members of the Disestablished Church, three of whom had received ordination in England; its students were still required to attend Communal prayers;⁴ the Master of its Grammar School was also Rector of Bruton Parish; and its President, the Rector of the Jamestown Church (the first Anglican parish in America) and Bishop of Virginia (the fourth Anglican Bishop in America, the first

¹W. W. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia From the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619 (Richmond: George Cochran, 1809-1823), 12:405-407.

²Ibid., 9:114.

³Vital Facts, p. 44.

⁴Statutes of 1792, Stat. IV:6.

of Virginia, and the last to be consecrated by the Church of England). It had survived the predictions of doom, of an inevitable demise from visitors from the North, including representatives from sister institutions; and it had even revised its Statutes in 1792¹ in an effort to recreate itself in the image of other more structured colleges and universities.

Madison had been a part of the College community since his matriculation in 1770 [1768];² and during most of this time, he had served the College in a leadership capacity. At his graduation in 1772, he won two distinctive honors: he was awarded the Botetourt Medal; and he was admitted to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, the first to be awarded by the College.³ For some months prior to his graduation he had filled the post of Writing Master; and following graduation, he continued to fill this position. In addition to his studies at the College, he had studied law with George Wythe, had received a license, and had practiced law long enough to conduct one case and conclude, apparently, that he did not want to be a practicing lawyer.⁴ In 1773, he was elected to

¹Ibid.

²Morpurgo notes that Madison "entered William and Mary in 1768 at the age of nineteen—elderly by the standards of the time" and was elected to a scholarship in 1770, p. 168; A Provisional List of Alumni, pp. 3 and 27, indicates that he entered in 1770.

³Morpurgo, p. 155.

⁴Madison's grandson, Charles Lewis Scott, notes in his writing of November 1897, "A Sketch of my own immediate Family. Written for my grandchildren." [sic], that his father [Robert Gomain Scott] includes in his manuscript, allusions to his [Charles Scott] maternal grandfather, and quotes the following: "'Mr. Madison applied himself so incessantly to his studies that he embraced with them that of the law, and guided by the advice and instructions of that good and eminent jurist Chancellor Wythe, he on ending his college course was enabled to graduate as a law

the Chair of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics; and in September 1777,¹ he succeeded the Reverend John Camm as President of The College of William and Mary. Even during two brief periods when he was in England, for Ordination in 1775 and for Consecration in 1790,² he was there under the auspices and/or with the blessings of the College, retaining his respective positions as Professor and as President. It is evident then that during this period Madison held positions of leadership for the College and for the Church and through these two, functioned in a leadership capacity for Virginia and for the nation as well.

One authoritative historian characterizes these post-Revolutionary years for the college as "the years of make-do and little

student, and at once to obtain a license to practice, of all which his father was justly proud. Mr. Madison determined to enter on his profession and pursue it in Williamsburg among the most able and marked lawyers of the State. He had as contemporary Judge St. George Tucker. The arrangement [*sic*] of an important admiralty case was confided to him in part. Its trial came on. He had laboriously and fully prepared himself for its argument. He made the attempt, stammered and blundered through an incoherent address, and left the Court room overwhelmed by his failure. No persuasions of friend, or earnest entreaties of his father, could induce him thereafter to return to the profession of law. He abandoned it absolutely as one that he was not fitted for. He felt too deeply to address with propriety and effect, Courts of jurors. He was too modest for the task'" (pp. 26-27). James M. Owens Collection, Folder 14, Box 2, Manuscript Collections, College of William and Mary.

¹Virginia Gazette, 5 September 1777; the appointment "for one year" was to span thirty-five years.

²A third visit to Great Britain is noted by Sprague: "Immediately on his return he resumed his labours as Professor, and, in 1777, had devolved upon him, in addition, the Presidency of the College....In the course of this year, he revisited Great Britain, with a view to qualify himself more fully for the duties of his office; and he remained abroad, chiefly in London, till near the close of 1778; during which time he availed himself of the instruction of the celebrated Cavallo, and several other of the great lights in the scientific world." William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, 5 vols. (New York: Robert Carter, 1859), 5:318.

mend"¹ and maintains that the College "survived and did better than survive so that the years between the end of the Revolution and end of the century...glisten in the history of William and Mary as an Indian summer before the harsh winter of the nineteenth century."² He attributes her survival to three factors: first, the College, representing the culmination of the Virginian dream of a successful institution of higher education, had become an integral part of the fabric of Virginia and an active contributor to American nationhood; second, the nationwide reputation of two of its law professors, Wythe and Tucker, had attracted students from all over the nation to its doors; and third, President Madison, through the years, had instituted various expedients for the College's survival, the most notable being the reopening of the Grammar School in 1792, an action which trebled both the enrollment and the exchequer.³ It would appear then that Madison had provided the leadership needed during this period; that at least two other members of the Faculty, Wythe and Tucker, had provided academic leadership as professors of law for the College, thereby making significant contributions to the Commonwealth and to the nation; and that the College had become an integral part of the fabric of Virginia and of the nation, actively providing contributions to Virginia and to American nationhood through her sons. However, her survival during the latter part of the eighteenth century had not been an easily accomplished task for those who

¹Morpurgo, p. 214.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., pp. 214, 216.

had accepted this responsibility; and, it would appear, this continued to be so during the early years of the nineteenth century.

In a letter to Thomas Jefferson dated 17 January 1800, in response to Jefferson's query regarding a possible opening for a Mr. Smith as Professor of Chemistry, Madison revealed much concerning the health of the College as the nineteenth century begins:

I am sorry I cannot return such an answer as would be desired. The Professorship of Chemistry &c has not been actually abolished; but after Dr. McClurg left us two Professorships of Humanity were instituted in its stead.—This Revival of ye Grammar School has however so illy answered the Expectations of the Patrons of the Scheme, that I am persuaded, could a visitation be had, one or both of the Professorships would be abolished. If this were done, the Professorship of Chemistry might be very advantageously revived; an Event which I should rejoice to see. At present however, it is almost impossible to say what will be done. The Visitors seem to have abandoned the College. We have not been able to obtain a meeting of them for 5 years. Such is the attention paid to science!—An Effort will be made to prevail upon them to meet at the annual Period about the 25th of March, which, I flatter myself, will be successful. It is more than probable that a considerable change will then take Place in this badly organized Body. If members, more active, & more zealous in the Promotion of real science be chosen, an opening may then be made for Mr. Smith..¹[and] I will immediately notify you of this fortunate circumstance.

Dr. James McClurg, of whom Madison spoke, was an alumnus of William and Mary² who had received training in Edinburgh, London, and Paris and who had gained international eminence as a pioneer in medical science before returning to Virginia in 1774. In the reorganization of the College in 1779, he was elected by the Board to the first Chair of Anatomy, Medicine, and Chemistry; and for a year after his election, he attended Faculty meetings regularly but never announced a course of medical

¹J[ames] Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 17 January 1800, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²A Provisional List, p. 26.

lectures; and there is no evidence that such lectures were ever held.¹ After an absence of two years,² he attended a Faculty meeting on 14 January 1783,³ resigned his Chair, and moved to Richmond to go into the general practice of medicine and thereby best serve his own ambitions, his chosen profession, and his country.⁴ Madison's letter would indicate that McClurg held lectures in Chemistry, perhaps, during his year at the College; but the history of the Chair of Anatomy and Medicine, it would appear, ended before it had really begun. This was due in part to the interruptions at the College necessitated by the war and to McClurg's reported passion for improvements in the field of medicine which perhaps he felt could not be realized by him as a Professor at the College; for although a Chair of Anatomy, Medicine, and Chemistry was nominally established at the College, the scale of fees due each Professor announced by the Faculty in December 1779, included three options only: Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, and Law; excluded were both the Chair of Medicine and the Chair of Romance Languages.⁵ In reality,

¹Morpurgo, p. 193.

²During part of this time the College was officially closed, Madison having announced its official closing on 1 June 1781 (Morpurgo, p. 202). The Faculty met together again for the first time in March 1782 (Morpurgo, p. 206). Formal announcement of the reopening of the College appeared in the Virginia Gazette and Weekly Adventure, Richmond, 7 August 1782.

³"Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College, 1729-1784," entry for 14 January 1783, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴Morpurgo, p. 193.

⁵"Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College, 1729-1784," entry for 29 December 1779, Archives, College of William and Mary.

the College did not have the funds necessary for the establishment of a true Chair of Medicine; this would require time, money, and much dedication to the College—a reality of which McClurg was apparently cognizant, and he decided to direct his energies elsewhere.

The two Professorships of Humanity instituted in place of the Chair of Anatomy, Medicine, and Chemistry were, as Madison confirms in his letter, extant in 1800. When the Grammar School was reopened in 1792, John Bracken, Master of the Grammar School from November 1775¹ until it was abolished in December 1779, had again accepted responsibility for this position with the title, Professor of Humanity; and he retained this position until he succeeded Madison as President in 1812.² The other Professorship of Humanity could have been filled by James Henderson who was apparently appointed to the Faculty in 1792.³ The other members of the Faculty at this time included Robert Andrews, Professor of Mathematics; Charles Bellini, Professor of Romance Languages; St. George Tucker, Professor of Law and Police; and James Madison, who was Professor of Natural Philosophy and President of the College. Who were these men? What was the background of their relationship with the College? Were they, this Faculty, providing the leadership the College needed as the nineteenth century began?

¹A Provisional List, p. 49.

²John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³A Provisional List, p. 49. A Surveyor's Certificate issued to Richard P. Clements, Southampton County, Virginia, on 27 October 1800, by the President and Professors of William and Mary College is signed by James Madison, pres., Robert Andrews, mathematics professor, St. G. Tucker, law and police, John Bracken, humanity, James Henderson, humanity. James Madison, Individual Manuscripts, Archives, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Professor Andrews, who was an ordained minister of the Church of England, a graduate of the College of Philadelphia, and the first graduate of another American college to hold a Chair at William and Mary, was brought to the College as Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1777 by President Madison to bolster the declining academic status of the College following the flight of some Tory members of the Faculty.¹ One historian notes that his appointment was symbolically important and that his fervent patriotism won him the affection of the more activist students, but his scholarship and his pedestrian teaching "cast no great glory on his alma mater" nor on William and Mary's recruiting standards. He did, however, have some experience as a drawing master; and perhaps his appointment fulfilled the desire of Jefferson and others that the students of the College be instructed in "the fine arts."² Andrews also served as Clerk to the Faculty; and in 1779 he was given the added responsibility of serving the College as Bursar, a position in which he was still functioning in 1800.³ In 1784, he took "the title and performed to the best of his limited abilities the duties of Professor of Mathematics";⁴ and, as noted, it was in this professorship that he was functioning in 1800.

Apparently neither his teaching nor his ability had improved at this time, at least in the eyes of one student, Joseph Shelton Watson,⁵

¹Morpurgo, p. 183.

²Ibid.

³A Provisional List, p. 57.

⁴Morpurgo, p. 216.

⁵"Joseph Shelton Watson was born 6 April 1780, and died 23 September 1805. After taking an academic course at William and Mary he studied law there." "Letters from William and Mary College, 1798-1801:

who wrote to his brother, David:¹ "As for Mathematics, that you know, has long been out of fashion at this place. Mr. Andrews pretends to have [torn] But I believe he teaches almost as much of Hebrew. The result of the examination of his class last year ought to have disgraced him."² Nine months later, in a letter to his brother, he again mentioned Mr. Andrews, whom he had not seen since his arrival.

Mr. Andrews has just returned from Norfolk. Tomorrow I shall visit him, for the first time, at College....Nov. 5. I have just seen Mr. Andrews in the lecture room. He asked me whether I had studied any part of Euclid. Being told that I had gone through the first six books, he said I had as well employ myself in revising them, until the senior class meets, and then begin plane Trigonometry, and Algebra. For that class did not learn either of these last year. I shall continue³ revising the six books to myself, after we begin the other studies.

A little more than a month later, he wrote to David:

When I wrote to you last, I was not able to tell you exactly how I should carry on my Mathematical studies. I expected then to continue only for a few days revising the first six books of Euclid, and then to join the senior class. But the mode of our proceeding is different....there were three others...like myself...so that we three were formed into a distinct class, and are now going on together. We have gotten as far as the fourth book; and should have been through it, and probably through the fifth by this time, had not Mr. Andrews left us eight or ten days ago to go to Richmond. The object of his journey was to contest an election with one Waller who shut him out last election by a majority of only five or six votes. It is supposed by many that he will gain his point. If he does, I shall not rejoice with him. I had much rather he should stay and attend to his business here. My object is to complete my study of

Joseph Shelton Watson to David Watson," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography [hereinafter referred to as VMH] 29(April 1921):<129>. He attended William and Mary 1796-1801. A Provisional List, p. 43.

¹David Watson was an alumnus of the College of William and Mary, having graduated with an A.B. degree in 1797. He prepared himself for the Bar, and practiced his profession as a lawyer in Louisa and adjoining Counties. VMH 29(April 1921):<129>-130.

²"Letters, 1798-1801: Watson to Watson," 9 February 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):139-140.

³Ibid., 4 November 1799, p. 145.

Mathematics this year; which I apprehend, nay, am pretty certain, I shall not¹ be able to do if he obtains his point, and attends the assembly.

Morpurgo notes that Andrews had "sought to console himself by looking for political office,"² after Madison's election and subsequent consecration as Bishop in 1790 had essentially ended the clerical rivalry that existed between them; and, as young Watson's letters concerning his efforts to determine and to complete his studies in mathematics indicate, the predominant role of Andrews' political aspirations continued to be much in evidence as the nineteenth century began, and his leadership role as a professor at the College could be viewed as negative.

The Professor of Romance Languages, Charles Bellini, had come to America with a small group of Italians brought over by Philip Mazzei³ in 1773 for the purpose of joining in Jefferson's experiments in viniculture.⁴ By mid 1778, upon Jefferson's recommendation, he "was sworn in as 'Clerk of Foreign correspondence'"⁵ to fill the Council of State's need for "'a faithful and capable person to act as Secretary & Interpreter of the French & other foreign languages.'"⁶ In 1779, he became the first occupant of the newly created Chair, Professor of Romance

¹Ibid., pp. 149-150.

²Morpurgo, p. 217.

³Philip Mazzei was an Italian physician born in 1730 who came to Virginia in 1773. "Charles Bellini, First Professor of Modern Languages in an American College: Correspondence of Jefferson and Bellini, Settlement of Bellini's Estate." WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):<1>.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Morpurgo, p. 192.

⁶Ibid.

Languages;¹ and he has been characterized by one historian as being,

...what a teacher of languages should be above all, a brilliant linguist, capable of moving easily from French into German, on into Spanish and back to his Italian mother tongue. Only his spoken English never lost the inflections of Tuscany but it was grammatically perfect and idiomatically sure....[and in spite of] financial and personal misfortune until ill-health over-powered his spirit, Bellini maintained a public cheerfulness and a Latin effusiveness that contributed to the Williamsburg² society color and cosmopolitanism that had never before existed.

Bellini's course in Romance Languages was omitted, like McClurg's, from the list of course fees published in December 1779;³ and repeatedly, the regular salary he was paid was too low to meet his needs and those of his ailing wife.⁴ However, he was a loyal and devoted member of the Faculty.

During the Revolution he remained in the College building as sole custodian of the College and its treasurers, and he not only kept a very close watch over the College property but also took the opportunity to spread the fame of the College with high praises of its Faculty and its treasurers.⁵ It is Professor Bellini who has provided "our only clue"⁶ to the College's original Charter, which is still missing,⁷ by

¹Note 1, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):<1>.

²Morpurgo, p. 192.

³"Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College, 1729-1784," entry for 29 December 1779, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴Morpurgo, p. 192.

⁵Ibid., pp. 203-204.

⁶Frank Evans, The Story of The Royal Charter of the College of William and Mary (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Botetourt Bibliographical Society, College of William and Mary, 1978), p. One.

⁷Even recently efforts have been exerted to determine the Charter's possible existence among the deposits in the archives in

reporting to the Faculty, as is noted in their Proceedings of 28 March 1791, his having seen the Charter some years past:

The Society being informed by M. Bellini that the original charter of this College which is lost, was some years past seen by him in the possession of a certain—Karjavina, a native of Muscovy, who declared that it was his intention to deposit the same among the archives of St. Petersburg in Russia. Resolved etc.¹

An interest among the students at the College in learning languages was noted by St. George Tucker in a letter to Jedediah Morse in 1795 in which he stated that most students acquire French and Italian and that Spanish and German may be acquired.² Evidence of this interest is also indicated by at least one student, Joseph Watson, who noted in a letter to his brother on 7 September 1796, that his time at school was employed in reading "lattin and French" and that the French was now quite easy.³ However, his letter indicates that he was apparently studying at this time with a Mr. Robertson:⁴

The pronunciation of it is the most difficult part and I suppose would be much more so than it is were I to learn it with a Frenchman or with any person who was well acquainted with the pronunciation. ...Latin and French are now so easy to me, that I am able to read over at the schoolhouse more than Mr. Robertson will let me say to him in the course of a day.⁵

St. Petersburg, Russia. Conversation with Kay Domine, Archivist, College of William and Mary Archives, May 17, 1979.

¹An extract from the Proceedings of the Faculty, 28 March 1791, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 55, Faculty Records 1754-1850, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²St. George Tucker to Jedediah Morse, [—] 1795, Tucker Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Watson to Watson, 7 September 1796, VMH 29(April 1925):133-134.

⁴No mention is made of a Mr. Robertson among the "Members of the Faculty." A Provisional List, pp. 49-50. Perhaps he was an Usher.

⁵Watson to Watson, 7 September 1796, VMH 29(April 1925):133-134.

Writing again on 9 February 1799, Watson's letter indicates that Professor Bellini was still teaching at the College and that he was probably studying with him at that time: "Old Bellini professes to teach Modern Languages, which amounts to a total exclusion of the knowledge of them."¹ Nine months later, 4 November 1799, he made the following observation:

I have never yet seen Mr. Bellini. He is now living in an old house somewhere, I believe, near the palace. The old fellow, as you suspect, is very poor; and to make his misfortune the greater, he has been almost deprived of the power of articulation by a late paralytic attack. He has been for some time talking of removing from his present lonesome habitation and fixing himself in College. But this he has been talking of for some time, and it is supposed that he will not do it at all unless the severity of cold forces him to it. His only food, they say, is wine and biscuit; his only amusement—snufftaking.²

No further mention is made of Bellini by young Watson though the available surviving letters to his brother, from Williamsburg, continue through 7 May 1801.

Even to the last years of his life, evidence suggests that Bellini considered Jefferson to be a friend and corresponded with him. In the same year in which young Watson was writing to his brother, Charles Bellini wrote to Jefferson, on April 1st, and confided that his state of health was poor and that he had employed a secretary:

I have been waiting for some time with more than Christian patience to write you a letter; but the stiffness of my hands which has hitherto prevented me increasing continually in obstinacy and my days drawing happily to a close I have been forced at length to make use of a younger and more obedient hand which has fortunately fallen in my way....I could wish to say a good deal more, but as my secretary is not as longwinded as yours at Philadelphia, nor as well

¹Ibid., 9 February 1799, p. 140.

²Ibid., 4 November 1799, p. 145.

disposed to tease you with nonsense I must here conclude with assurances of sincere affection.¹

That he was still very much a part of William and Mary is evidenced in these comments:

William & Mary the most important object here has long been in a declining state, but I am happy to inform you (and I know that it will give you pleasure to hear) that it is at present rising very rapidly. Several students who have lately quitted college, two brothers particularly, by the name of Lomax will reflect the highest lustre on their alma mater. But above all there ²is one here at present who is certainly an ornament to human nature.

Whether Professor Bellini was still actively teaching in 1800 cannot be definitively determined. A surveyor's certificate issued 27 October 1800, did not include his signature. However, it could be assumed that, health permitting, he was still a member of the Faculty; young Watson's letter states that he had not yet seen Mr. Bellini but neither had he seen Professor Andrews. It is apparent, however, that Professor Bellini was not providing the instruction nor the leadership the college needed from its Faculty; he was not physically able to do so.

St. George Tucker came to America from Bermuda in 1771. He graduated from William and Mary in 1772, the same year as Madison; became Judge of the Supreme Court of Virginia in 1785; and succeeded William and Mary's first law professor, George Wythe, as Professor of Law and Police in 1790. He is characterized by one historian as being "a lesser man than his predecessor but once Wythe was out of academic life, he [Tucker] was the best teacher of Law in all America and the most thorough in all the English-speaking world."³ His Commentaries on

¹"Charles Bellini," WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):10-11.

²Ibid., p. 11.

³Morpurgo, p. 220.

Blackstone,¹ the earliest distinctive law book published in America, is a testament to his scholarship and his thoroughness. That he was held in esteem by his peers is evidenced in a letter to him from Judge John Tyler, dated 10 July 1795:

I hope Mr. J^e Morse will be convinced that there is yet at poor old Will: Mary one professor whose abilities and Virtue are fully equal to the Task of retrieving that station to which she is justly entitled in y^e eyes of the learn'd, and rescuing her from the hands of ignorance, the parent of prejudice and violence,¹ and that this professor is St. George Tucker, a Judge of the Gen^l Court of Virginia and Professor of Law in W^m & Mary College, who I am sure professes also humanity, liberallity of sentiment, and Geographical² knowledge enough to detect a falsehood utter'd by whom it may.

Evidence of esteem and respect is also indicated in a letter of one of his students, Chapman Johnson,³ to a former student, David Watson (then engaged in the practice of law), on 18 May 1800:

At the time that [I] spoke of the Bishop, my acquaintance with Tucker was not sufficient to authorize an opinion of his merit. Since then I have become as intimately acquainted with him as the shortness of time would permit—I am happy to find your opinion of him, so perfectly correspondent with my own. Whatever may be said of his hauteur or austerity I believe him to be "Justum et tenacum propositi virum." Whatever vulgar respect, too much liberty might command, or whatever praises easy and popular manners may deserve, yet

"An honest man's the noblest work of God"

Whatever enemies his rigid justice may occasion him, yet

¹Tucker's manuscript copy of the third edition of this work is housed among the Tucker Papers, Special Collections Division of The Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

²Judge John Tyler [to Judge St. George Tucker], 10 July 1795, WMQ 2, 1st ser.(January 1894):201.

³Chapman Johnson entered William and Mary in 1799 (A Provisional List, p. 23) and earned the A.B. degree in 1802 (Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153). He then began the practice of law at Staunton, Virginia. He was a member of the State Senate from 1805-1831 and moved his practice to Richmond where he remained until his death in 1849. Note 24, VMH 29(April 1921):155-156.

"Oneself approving hour whole years outweighs
Of stupid stores [?] and of lowd huzzas".¹

The interest and enthusiasm for the study of law prevalent among the students at William and Mary at the time is evidenced in young Johnson's letter of 27 October 1800:

I have at length commenced the study of the Law. I have read Littleton's text once and am reading it again. I find some difficulties, which (if I can solve them) serve but to heighten my pleasure, and increase my ardor. Indeed I feel so deep an interest in the Study, and swallow the dry stuff with so voracious an appetite that I ²really hope to be a lawyer, in time, if application will make me one.

Chapman had written to Watson earlier, 14 August 1800, that he did not plan to begin his law studies until October because he had several books he wanted to read before he began "as I shall not have time to read them afterwards. Such are Vattel, Brown on Equality, The Federalist, &c."³

Not all of the students engaged in the study of law, however, shared young Chapman's interest and enthusiasm. Joseph Watson, writing to his brother, David, on 9 February 1799, attests to the demands of the law lectures and the emphasis on law in the College; but he exhibits far less enthusiasm than Chapman Johnson.

It is unfortunate for me that far the greater quantity of our genius and industry is employed in the study of the law. Law, tho called a liberal profession, is surely one of the greatest enemies of general and liberal learning. The man who becomes a compleat [lawyer] will, I believe, be nothing else. It appears here to swallow up the whole time and attention of those who are engaged with the study of it.

¹Chapman Johnson to David Watson, 18 May 1800, VMH 29(July 1921):269-270.

²Ibid., 27 October 1800, p. 274.

³Ibid., 14 August 1800, p. 272.

This has caused the total downfall of that society from which so much was expected in the commencement of this Course.

Philosophy suffers by it....¹

Despite his lack of enthusiasm for the study of law and the demands such study imposed, young Watson shared the high regard in which his peers held St. George Tucker as Professor of Law; his letter, following adverse comments about Professors Andrews and Bellini, continued with this statement: "Two of our Professors reflect honor on their professions."² Tucker is undoubtedly one of these professors, and he undoubtedly provided a leadership position for the College as a member of the Faculty as the nineteenth century began.

President Madison, who is also Professor of Natural Philosophy, is undoubtedly the other professor to whom young Watson referred although Madison's precise status at the College as the eighteenth century ends and the nineteenth century begins was apparently somewhat uncertain as young Watson noted in his letter:

Among the strange and unaccountable things, I have to mention, that one of these, our president (as worthy a man as any that lives) seems to have become the object of more ill will, than, I believe, was ever born towards before. It is always a difficult thing for a professor to escape ill will. The Bishop, has hitherto, escaped most admirably. But there is now a party here, with whom it seems fashionable to enter, without discrimination, into all the prejudices and passions of one another, no matter how irrational, ungenerous, or malignant,—³

As a lecturer in Natural Philosophy, Madison was apparently popular and was held in high regard; and he apparently challenged and aroused the

¹Watson to Watson, 9 February 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):139.

²Ibid., p. 140.

³Ibid., pp. 140-141.

desired spirit of curiosity in his students, at least in some of them. In addition to his lectures in Natural Philosophy, evidence suggests that he was conducting the lectures in Moral Philosophy at the College as well. Young Watson wrote to his brother on 4 November 1799, that he was reading Duncan to the Bishop "who advises us to read along with it Stuart's Philosophy of Mind";¹ and on 9 December 1799, he confided to his brother the demands of his studies and his enthusiasm for them, particularly for Natural Philosophy:

Reading merely those books which are necessary for the course has kept me in pretty constantly employment....philosophy is my delight. I was particularly pleased with that part which treats of Magnetism. The experiments on it were very curious and beautiful. And I experienced additional pleasure upon reading Cavallo on the subject.... The pleasure I felt in reading was often of the highest kind, such as we always experience when we suddenly discover truth after having despaired of being able to come at it.²

Chapman Johnson shared young Watson's enthusiasm for Natural Philosophy, and his letter of 19 December 1799, gives further evidence that Madison was functioning also as Professor of Moral Philosophy.³

I have hitherto attended the Bishop's Moral Course in the Junior class and his natural course....purposing to attend Tucker's next course and finding that I cou'd not get through the Bishop's political course, before Tucker's lectures commenced, if I continued with the Junior class I have it best to join the seniors and the Bishop concurs with me....I shall consequently begin Rousseau immediately.

¹Ibid., 4 November 1799, pp. 145-146. A note on page 145 indicates that the work being read is possibly "The Elements of Logic" by William Duncan, Professor of Philosophy at Aberdeen.

²Ibid., 9 December 1799, pp. 148-149.

³According to St. George Tucker's account of the College in his response to the Rev. Jedediah Morse in 1795, the students in Moral Philosophy "are examined on the ablest writers in logic, the belles lettres, ethics, natural law, the law of nations, and politics." WMQ 6, 1st ser. (January 1898):183.

But from all my other studies put together, I do not promise myself half the pleasure I receive from N. Philosophy. [He had not yet begun the study of law.]¹

Madison's relationship with Joseph Watson and Chapman Johnson and the respect, esteem, and high regard which they had for him is evidenced in their correspondence and indicates that he was not the "object of ill will" of all the students. In response to his brother's query "...how the Bishop received, and how he behaved towards" him, young Watson wrote on 24 December 1799:

I am at some loss to answer. The reception...was easy and familiar enough;....this I know, that I was very much impressed in his favour; and upon further acquaintance I like him still better....The only thing I dislike is that I have not so much of his company and conversation as I would wish. I have hardly ever seen him, except in the Lecture Room. When I first went to see him the day after I came down he gave a kind of general invitation to come to his house whenever I could make it convenient. But I have never been; nor has he thought proper to repeat his invitation....What I look upon as the [most agree-]able sign is a privilege he has given me of writing **** and showing them just when I please and can make it **** a privilege which he has given to no other person but Johnson....The last compositions of the class were read publicly. Johnson and myself delivered ours together on Friday last. These were the first ones ever read....²

Chapman Johnson had written on 19 December 1799, that he was much pleased with the Bishop; that his politeness of behavior, his openness of disposition, his easiness of manners, his "affability and familiarity in conversation, which added to his extensive information, great virtues and moral rectitude of conduct, irresistibly engage the esteem and admiration of all who are acquainted with him. I am not insensible to the charms of everything, that is noble and excellent in human nature."³ On

¹Johnson to Watson, 9 December 1799, VMH 29(July 1921):266-267.

²Watson to Watson, 24 December 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):153.

³Johnson to Watson, 19 December 1799, VMH 29(July 1921):265-266.

18 May 1800, he reaffirms his admiration for President Madison: "I have before given you my opinion of the Bishop. A longer acquaintance has not altered it; but every act of his life tends more to confirm it."¹

It would appear then, as the nineteenth century begins, that in addition to the concerns communicated to Jefferson in his letter of January 17th—a Board of Visitors that had not met for five years; two Professorships of Humanity, one or both of which should be abolished; an absence of support for real science, including a Professorship of Chemistry, President Madison had become, as well, the object of increased ill will among the students, at least among a number of them. Among others, he was the object of highest esteem and respect and was much revered as a teacher and as a person. Most assuredly, he occupied a position of leadership; and undoubtedly, he possessed the capacity to lead; but was he providing the leadership the College needed from the man serving as her president and as a member of her Faculty?

These then are the men who constituted one body charged with the responsibilities of leadership for the College of William and Mary as the nineteenth century begins—the Society, composed of the President and the Professors and Masters of the College. The other body so charged, the Board of Governors and Visitors, was at this time, as noted by Madison in his letter to Jefferson, essentially a nonfunctioning entity. What were the leadership responsibilities this body was expected to assume? At the time of the Transfer of the Charter in 1729,

¹Ibid., 18 May 1800, p. 269.

primary responsibility for day-to-day decisions and for management of the College funds shifted from the Visitors to the Faculty; however, the Visitors retained sole authority to change the Statutes;¹ and, as one historian notes, the Faculty and the Visitors were locked in a struggle for supremacy almost from the day the Charter was signed.² In 1779, as part of the reforms instituted under the interim revised Statutes, the Visitors took upon themselves the added, and somewhat shared, responsibility of supervision by a committee of the mode of instruction and the curriculum in each subject; the committee consisted of the President, the Professor (in a given subject), and six Visitors.³ After the Revolution, however, it soon became "plain for all to see that the survival of the College depended almost entirely on the efforts of the Faculty. ...[whose] goodwill...could not be placed at risk by aggressive interference from the Visitors."⁴ Apparently this policy of laissez-faire adopted by the Visitors was viewed by Madison, by 1800, as abandonment: "The Visitors seem to have abandoned the College. We have not been able to obtain a meeting of them for 5 years."⁵ So the leadership provided by this body was nonexistent.

The other position of leadership, that of the Chancellor, nominally the titular head of the College, was vacant in 1800, George

¹Morpurgo, p. 80.

²Ibid., p. 216.

³Ibid., p. 190.

⁴Ibid., p. 216.

⁵Madison to Jefferson, 17 January 1800, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Washington, the first American Chancellor of the College, having died on December 14, 1799. Under the terms of the Transfer in 1729, the office of Chancellor, "nominally the temporal and spiritual head of the College whose advice must be sought on all major issues of policy,"¹ was retained and, as it had been in the past, was filled, except for a period of approximately two years,² by either the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury either of whom was "most useful to a small institution in a distant colony because he could serve as a link with the Crown, with the British Government and with the Church in England."³ However, the advantages of the office of Chancellor evident at the time of the Transfer were no longer available to the College after the break with Britain in 1776; and the office remained vacant from that time until appointment to this office was accepted by George Washington in 1788.⁴ Apparently Washington accepted the appointment reluctantly:

Eventually, Washington allowed himself to be persuaded but, though he must have known that in almost a century of history not one Chancellor had set foot on American soil let alone visited the College, not until he had been assured that it was not expected of him that he make "regular and indispensable Visitations";...[and] he left no one in any doubt that he intended⁵ to give to the College nothing more substantial than moral support.

¹Morpurgo, p. 80.

²Charles Wyndham, Earl of Egremont, was Chancellor, 1762-1763; Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke was Chancellor in 1764. Vital Facts, p. 44.

³Morpurgo, p. 80.

⁴George Washington to Samuel Griffin, April 1788, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington, 36 vols. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931-1944), 29:481-482.

⁵Morpurgo, p. 214.

In defense of Washington it could be said that a possible assumption on his part that expectations of the Chancellor other than those or perhaps different from those that existed prior to the Revolution could have had validity, and perhaps he was not unaware of the role of the Chancellor in the history of the College.

Evidence, however, of even moral support seems to be lacking. Even though he was "by virtue of his surveyor's license, almost an alumnus,"¹ having been "roundly and authoritatively commissioned"² in 1749, Washington apparently did not accord his commission the respect incumbent upon him.³ Furthermore, evidence suggests that even in 1798 "he was still persisting with his long-standing reluctance to recommend the College as a suitable place for the education of his friends and family."⁴ In 1771, the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, tutor to Washington's adopted son, John Parke Custis, wrote to Washington:

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 112.

³"Under its Charter the College possessed not only the privilege of commissioning Virginia's surveyors but also a prescriptive call upon one-sixth of the income of all who practiced this very lucrative profession. Lord Fairfax, the greatest of all employers of surveyors, flouted both requirements. He hired surveyors who had no commissions and, to his own advantage and to theirs, he pretended ignorance of the income-tax due to the College. One of Fairfax's surveyors was to hold eventually—with several other offices of distinction—the post of Chancellor of William and Mary and was to enter fable as a man of unshakeable probity yet, sadly, there is every reason to suspect that one-sixth of the not inconsiderable fortune made by George Washington as a surveyor was in effect stolen from the College and that, in this respect, he was as carefully remiss as any of his less famous and less worthy colleagues" (Morpurgo, p. 112).

⁴Ibid., p. 214.

If after all you resolve in removing him; all I have to add is a request that it may not be to Princeton. Pay me the compliment of believing that I know something of these matters, and there is not anything I am more convinced of than that your own college is a better one—better in every respect. You live contiguous to it, and hear every objection to it, often magnified beyond the truth, and were this the case with respect to the Jersey's I am mistaken if you would hear less there. If, however, the objections to Williamsburg be insuperable, I would then recommend New York: it is but a step further, and for obvious reasons infinitely deserves the preference.¹

In 1798, Washington's views concerning the College, even though he was its Chancellor, were essentially the same: "The more I think of his [George Washington Parke Custis] entering at William and Mary, (unless he could be placed in the Bishop's family) the more doubtful I am of its utility, on many accounts; which had better be the subject of oral communication than by letter."² One historian concludes that Washington's having kept "the full force of his condemnation for 'oral communication' was the least...[he] could do for the College of which he was titular head. He did no more."³ He further concludes that the only benefit accrued to William and Mary from its association with Washington was "justification of its uncompromising selectivity"⁴ through Washington's election to the Presidency of the United States within a few months after his appointment as Chancellor of the College.

At the time of Washington's death, Madison discussed with the students the circumstances of his death and proposed that everyone who

¹Jonathan Boucher to George Washington, 19 November 1771, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):223.

²George Washington to David Stuart, 22 January 1798, in Fitzpatrick, Writings of Washington, 3:137.

³Morpurgo, p. 214.

⁴Ibid.

was not opposed by principle to doing so wear "a piece of crape as a testimony of esteem and respect for his many virtues and the great service he had rendered his country....[noting] that this measure had been adopted by the Assembly; and that he himself should do it."¹ On the 22 February 1800, in the church in Williamsburg, Madison delivered a discourse, addressed "To the Students of William and Mary College," on the death of Washington, extolling him as an individual who combined many of the attributes of a perfect character and exhorting them to not only equal but to surpass his example:

Young Gentlemen:—To excel in moral worth, we must form an ideal model of moral perfection. To assist you in forming such a model has been my constant endeavour. With the same view I here present you with a real model; not as the standard of perfection; for that, like the beauty of bodies, is not to be discovered in any individual; but as an exemplar of the happy combination of many of these moral beauties, which constitute the perfect character. Accept it as a small testimony of my affection; and be assured of my ardent prayers, that you may ever strive not only to equal, but to surpass it.²

No mention is made of Washington as Chancellor of the College at any point in the discourse. Another Chancellor for the College of William and Mary was not appointed until 1859.³

¹Watson to Watson, 24 December 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):152.

²"A Discourse on the Death of General Washington, Late President of the United States; Delivered on the 22d of February, 1800, in the Church in Williamsburg." By James Madison, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, and President of William and Mary College (Richmond: T. Nicolson, 1800). James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Vital Facts, p. 44.

It is evident that, as the nineteenth century begins, the College did not have a full complement of persons and positions charged with the responsibility of providing leadership and the leadership under which it was functioning was being provided by a very few. The office of Chancellor was vacant. The Board of Governors and Visitors was a nonfunctioning entity. The Society was composed of six professors, one of whom was President of the College, Professor of Natural Philosophy, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Rector of the Jamestown Parish, and Bishop of Virginia; another was Professor of Law and Police and a Judge of the Supreme Court of Virginia; another was Professor of Mathematics, was apparently limited in ability and in teaching expertise, held Anglican orders, and was actively engaged in seeking political office; another was ill and had severely limited powers of articulation, a serious limitation for one who teaches languages; another was Professor of Humanity (whose professorship the President thought should probably be abolished) and Rector of Bruton Parish; and about the other Professor of Humanity little is known except that the President felt his professorship, too, should be abolished. The pluralistic involvement among the Faculty in nonpedagogical pursuits was characteristic of previous Faculties and Presidents; and following the Revolution the practice had become financially unavoidable. A possible advantage at this time, however, of the Faculty's involvement in various affairs of state, now that the capital had been removed to Richmond, was that the students undoubtedly benefited from the Faculty's involvement and through their involvement were not entirely removed from familiarity with political life beyond the campus, a circumstance which had given a political sophistication beyond

their years to many of their predecessors when Williamsburg was at the center of the political scene at both the state and national levels. Who, however, was providing leadership for the College? Who had both the capacity and the will to lead? What was the character and condition of the College as the nineteenth century began?

The Statutes of 1792 were officially in effect in 1800 for the governance of the College, although one historian maintains that they, like the Statutes of 1729, had fallen into desuetude almost as soon as they were written.¹ Under these Statutes the degree, Doctor of Law, was retained and a second degree, Doctor of Divinity, was added. The other degrees offered by the College were Batchelor [sic] of Arts, Batchelor of Law, and Master of Arts.² The "University" had two terms: the third Monday in October through the last day in April and the third Monday in May through the last day in July.³ Attendance was compulsory; and any absence without leave was under penalty of a mulct not to exceed three shillings for one absence. Similar penalties of a mulct could be imposed for lack of preparation, daily as well as for annual examinations.⁴ The honor system persisted although the pledge to which the student subscribed upon matriculation, "...that he will be observant of

¹Morpurgo, p. 220.

²Statutes of 1792, Stat. XI:I.

³Evidence of this academic calendar is indicated in several letters (Johnson to Watson, 18 May 1800, and 27 October 1800); letters also indicate that students remained at the College during the vacation periods (Johnson to Watson, 14 August 1800). "Letters to David Watson," VMH 29(July 1921):270, 273.

⁴Statutes of 1792, Stat. III:3 and 4.

all rules, orders and statutes of the University,"¹ did not incorporate the additional phrase of a 1784 Statute, "...and particularly such as require that kind of conduct...conducive to the Honour & Prosperity of the University."² The Statute regulating the drinking habits of the students—"Be it ordained, That the drinking of spiritous liquors (except in that moderation, which becomes the prudent and industrious Student) be prohibited."³—had been relaxed in December 1796:

15th: No person other than a student, or other member of the College shall be admitted as a boarder at the College table; no liquor shall be furnished or used at table except beer, cyder, toddy, or spirits and water, and these only in moderate quantity. 16th: The keeper of ye College table shall on no pretense, nor for any consideration furnish or sell to the students wine or any other spiritous liquors to be drunk at any other time or place except at their ordinary meals as beforementioned.⁴

Other Statutes concerned general order and decorum of the students; room, board, and attendant fees; use of the library; admission requirements and academic requirements; penalties, expulsion, and procedures for imposing each; degree requirements and procedures for honours, awards, and other forms of recognition.⁵

Surviving letters of several students provide clues regarding the students, the academic milieu, and the community milieu at this time. Of the food, one student noted that "there is an alteration

¹Ibid., Stat. I.

²The Honor System of The College of William and Mary in Virginia (Williamsburg: Office of the Dean of Students, 1964), p. 6.

³Statutes of 1792, Stat. IV:1.

⁴William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁵Statutes of 1792, Stats. IV-XI.

considerable in the Brafferton diet but far are they yet, from the Hegliogabelan proficiency."¹ Of the rooms, one stated that his "situation in College is as commodious and agreeable as I could reasonably have expected....a very convenient room, on the third floor, your former habitation, I believe"²; another stated that he was not "fixed in College....[but] at Moirs....[where his] situation is not so good as I would wish it....two of us are living together, and...two attract more company than one....I find now little time for company"³; he planned to get a convenient room to himself next quarter, if possible. Of student dress, one wrote that he had not yet received his cravat and handkerchiefs;⁴ and another commented that "There's great variety in the dress of the students this Course from the finest satin, to a pair of check overalls."⁵

Of student habits, attitudes, and manners several observations were made. One noted that the students "generally are less assiduous, than I could wish, but, I have not, much reason to complain of interruption"⁶; a few months later he wrote: "I have often reflected...on the extravagance of the students at William and Mary...., had we at College more students whose object was rather improvement, than pleasure, and

¹Robert Michie to David Watson, 3 November 1797, VMH 29(July 1921):257-258.

²Johnson to Watson, 19 December 1799, VMH 29(July 1921):265.

³Watson to Watson, 9 December 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):148.

⁴Ibid., 11 February 1798, p. 137.

⁵Michie to Watson, 3 November 1797, VMH 29(July 1921):258.

⁶Johnson to Watson, 19 December 1799, VMH 29(July 1921):265.

whose fortunes made frugality more necessary. But the genius and dissipation of our students...."¹ Another student noted that about one fourth of the students were industrious and promising; but most of the rest were "devoid of emulation, with a sluggish inactivity of mind, pass their moments away in a total insensibility to the importance of their time, and the advantages which they possess."² The same student commented further:

Ease, pleasure and simplicity of manners have been always charming in my eyes. But never as charming as when opposed to vanity, affectation, and stiffness. I have here daily occasion to observe each of these characters, in most striking contrast. While I am forced to admire and love the one, how often do I blush with shame for the other.³

Of the number of students and the abilities and talents of individual students, interesting and specific observations were made. In February 1799, the College was described as flourishing in numbers, possessing among the sixty students "a considerable portion of genius and industry....[yet] it is painful to remark how greatly the opposite of these qualities preponderates."⁴ At the commencement of the fall session, October 1799, about forty-three students were present at the first general lecture on Natural Philosophy, but four or five old students were absent at the time; the accession generally received should soon increase the number to fifty-five or sixty.⁵ Another student noted

¹Johnson to Watson, 18 May 1800, VMH 29(July 1921):270.

²Watson to Watson, 9 February 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):139.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 140.

⁵Watson to Watson, 27 October 1800, VMH 29(April 1921):146.

that the first natural lecture had forty students, a number greater than even the Bishop could recollect being present before.¹ In July of the preceding year, Isaac A. Coles, writing to Henry St. George Tucker² from Amherst, Virginia, discussed the increase in the number of students attending the College. He did not know whether to attribute it to,

...our peculiar national situation or to some peculiarities in the Institution itself, or whether indeed it may not be owing to mere accident from an impulse which they may have received from the example of some striking & popular Genius. [A few lines earlier he had noted that "Most of our illustrious Heroes & patriots have been educated in the bosom of our much loved Mother."] This last I think is more probably the current idea especially when we consider how much man in general is indebted³ for his passions & character to those by whom he is surrounded.

His analysis, if accepted, would attribute a leadership role, regarding the general welfare of the College, to the students.

A rather mature analysis of the relative value of number and quality with specific observations regarding some of the students was made by young Joseph Watson in a letter to his brother:

¹Johnson to Watson, 27 October 1800, VMH 29(July 1921):273. Mary R. M. Goodwin notes the number of students for 1799 to be 43 and for 1800, 44. Mary R. M. Goodwin, Notes of the College of William and Mary (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1954).

²Both of these young men had recently earned the A.B. degree at William and Mary, Coles in 1798 and Tucker in 1799. Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153. Isaac A. Coles, of Albemarle, was later a lawyer, a member of the House of Delegates in 1840-1841, and was, for a time, Jefferson's private secretary. VMH 29(July 1921):265. Henry St. George Tucker, son of Judge St. George Tucker, was later a member of Congress, Chancellor of the Fourth Judicial Circuit, President of the Court of Appeals of Virginia, Professor of Law at the University of Virginia, and President of the Virginia Historical Society. VMH 29(April 1921):146.

³Isaac A. Coles to Henry St. George Tucker, 20 July 1799, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(January 1900):159.

Number at a College you know to be a matter of highest importance. If we are numerous now, the report of our number will add to our seminary a reputation that will cause the youth of our country to flock to it in still greater numbers; and Science, Arts, and consequent happiness will be more generally diffused through our country. But we have something else upon which I trust the fame of our College will rest more substantially than upon mere number. In many of our young men we have real talents accompanied by the most ardent love for Science. Cabell¹ to these qualities, unites those attentive easy and respectful² manners which never fail to seize upon the affections—of Johnsons² abilities....They are not of the very splendid kind. But in my estimation he possesses a penetration and energy of mind in the highest degree adapted to the discovery of truth and to the pursuit of her through the most difficult and intricate mazes.

Leigh³ (of Chesterfield) to real cleverness unites more show. H.[enry St. George] Tucker, though by nature perhaps endowed with no extraordinary degree of acuteness, or energy, and certainly with no brilliancy of talents, has, by the advantages of regular education and diligent attention made acquisitions which will command respect to himself and prove useful to his Country.⁴

¹Joseph Carrington Cabell earned his A.B. degree at William and Mary in 1798 (Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153) and returned to William and Mary to study law under Judge St. George Tucker in 1800-1801. Prior to entering William and Mary he attended Hampden-Sidney College, 1795-1796, and traveled in Europe during 1802-1806. "He was Jefferson's chief supporter in the Legislature in founding the University of Virginia and it is hardly overstating to say that probably that great institution could not then have been established without his aid. ...[He] was a man of high character, of great ability and national reputation....The only blot on [his] record, which he shares with Jefferson. ...[was the lack of] a truer loyalty to Alma Mater....at her time of special weakness and need" [as her history will soon reveal]. VMH 29(July 1921):261, note 5.

²See note 4, p. 26.

³Benjamin Watkins Leigh earned the A.B. degree in 1802 also (Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153); he practiced law in Petersburg until 1813 when he moved to Richmond; he was elected to the United States Senate in 1834 but, feeling unable to obey instructions from the Virginia Legislature, resigned his seat in 1836; a few years later, one historian notes, he came very near to being President of United States. Note 24, VMH 29(April 1921):156.

⁴Watson to Watson, 26 October 1800, VMH 29(April 1921):155-157.

A year earlier, in response to his brother's query as to who of the students were clever, young Watson had identified "Young H. Tucker and one Leigh from Chesterfield" as appearing to be the cleverest and "Young Mann Page,¹ with whom you are acquainted appears to be a sensible man."² Similar observations concerning Joseph Cabell were communicated to David Watson by another student at the College at this time:

Since you know Cabell it is needless for me to tell you, I think him clever. Seems to possess, all that strength of mind, that scientific ardor, that unremitting application, necessary to form the wise man; and all that communicative disposition, and agreeable manner, which render his knowledge useful to others, and make him respectable and respected, amiable and beloved.³

Of expenses, one student wrote that he had often reflected, with regret, on the exorbitant expenses of education in "this Country, and particularly on the extravagance of the students at William and Mary.... my own circumstances make it a matter of primary concern for me to reduce, as much as possible, the expenses of education."⁴ Another student discussed expenses and payment of fees more specifically. Beginning with the familiar phrase, "I want money," he noted that it was customary to pay the quarter's board at its commencement; and his present quarter, which began on January 20th, had not been paid at the time of his writing, February 9th. In addition, he had lent between twenty and thirty dollars; so his pocket money was scarce (another familiar note). He indicated that he believed "130 Dol. would bear all expenses betwixt

¹Mann Page earned the A.B. degree in 1798. Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

²Watson to Watson, 4 November 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):146.

³Johnson to Watson, 27 October 1800, VMH 29(July 1921):273.

⁴Ibid., 18 May 1800, p. 270.

this time and my arrival home next summer. But...there may be unforeseen expenses."¹ On his return to the College in the Fall, he stopped in Richmond and stayed at the Swan Tavern; his expenses and purchases amounted to nineteen pounds plus taylors [sic] charges and tavern expenses.² In relating an encounter at the tavern with a friend of his brother's, one Woody, who planned to buy a house in Williamsburg for the purpose of boarding students, he revealed the cost of boarding in Williamsburg, off campus, at this time: "Mores price for board he [Woody] says is fifty dollars a quarter, if he takes a room singly; forty if he will take a fellow."³ Shortly after the commencement of classes he had determined that he would need additional funds by the beginning of the next quarter and that thirty-five pounds should suffice. "That will make out a round hundred."⁴ However, within a month he had concluded that forty pounds would be needed; for he had "laid out nearly twenty dollars in them [books]. In the spring I shall want clothes; and many other things I shall stand in need of, I expect, between now and the time I go home."⁵ Both of these young men probably represent the more conservative element attending the College.

Of specific courses of study, requirements, texts, and other books read, mention is interspersed throughout the correspondence. French, lattin [sic], Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy,

¹Watson to Watson, 9 February 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):139.

²Ibid., 16 October 1799, p. 144.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 4 November 1799, p. 146.

⁵Ibid., 9 December 1799, p. 150.

and Law are all identified as courses being pursued; also specifically identified is the writing of a composition once a fortnight.¹ Specific works and authors mentioned include Ovid's *Metamorphoses* [sic], Winterbotham, Depaw, Abbe Clavizero, Virgil, Horace, Pope, Dryden, Homer, Gil Blas, Gibbon's decline and fall of the Roman Empire [sic], Ramsay, Thompson, Duncan, Stuart's *Philosophy of Mind*, Rutherford, Godwin, Adams, Rush's *Essays*, Nicholson's philosophy [sic], Chaptal on Chemistry [sic], Euclid, Cavallo, Blair's *Lectures* [sic],² Rousseau, Vattel, Brown on Equality [sic], The *Federalists* [sic], and Littleton.³ Among the works and authors read, Godwin⁴ seems to have been the most controversial. Young Joseph Watson—after having noted that at a recent meeting his society had been equally divided on the question, "Is gratitude a virtue?"—made this observation:

¹ *Ibid.*, 24 December 1799, p. 153.

² Watson to Watson, VMH 29(April 1921):131-150.

³ "Letters to David Watson," VMH 29(July 1921):266-274.

⁴ William Godwin was an English political writer and novelist. The son of a minister and educated for the ministry, he had held three different parishes before deciding, in 1782, to live in London and reform society through his writings rather than through the Church. His work, *Inquiry Concerning Political Justice, and its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness*, published in 1793, attracted wide notice at the time; and though little known now, it marks a phase in English thought and takes its place for its political effect with Milton's *Areopagitica*, Locke's *Essay on Education*, and Rousseau's *Emile*. He defined political justice as the adoption of "any principle of morality and truth into practice of the community"; his work, therefore, was "an inquiry into the principles of society, of government, and of morals." He believed man to be perfectible, society to be faulty, and vice to be overcome by correcting conditions that produce it. In his later years he modified some of his more extreme views but never altered his devotion to the cause of liberty or his complete belief in man and in the power of reason. Note 18, VMH 29(April 1921):147.

From this, you may guess at the esteem in which Godwin is held by the students.¹ His innovating principles I am told are much disliked and feared by the Bishop. Adams is the book for the Bishop. He extols and recommends him continually. From his advice I have been reading him for information on the subject of Materialism, which he has given us to compose upon. The subject itself is very abstruse and difficult and it was not made less so by reading Adams....I have written upon it I believe a parcel of nonsense. But I console myself with the thought that no one knows much about it.²

A year later, he again mentioned the influence of Godwin on the students and the esteem with which his views were held by some of them:

There is another whom I shall mention, not because of any high estimation in which I hold his talents, but because by many he is looked upon with amazement, and by the intelligent he is, and desires to be, respected. It is one Moody,....He has indiscriminately adopted the opinions of³ Godwin, which distinguish him at College and wherever he goes.

Madison's own views, at this time, relative to Godwin and others of like mind are revealed in his letter to Jefferson of 1 February 1800. After praising Priestley as being among the first grade of Philosophers, physical or moral, and lamenting his treatment in this country as "a Disgrace to common sense, & ought to be opposed by everyone who has any Regard or Feeling for oppressed Integrity, & Talents the most distinguished,"⁴ he continued with these observations:

I am also much obliged for your analysis of Illuminatism. It is the most satisfactory which I have seen, particularly, so far as it

¹"Though Godwin was affectionate in his family relations, he held the theory that natural relationships had no claim on man, nor was gratitude to parents or instructors any part of justice or virtue. Hence the reference to the debate" (Note 18, VMH 29[April 1921]:147).

²Watson to Watson, 4 November 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):147.

³Watson to Watson, 26 October 1800, VMH 29(April 1921):157-158.

⁴J[ames] Madison to [Thomas Jefferson], 1 February 1800, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

concerns Wishaupt. I have no doubt, mysticism attached to it, originated in the Manner you have described. The old-fashioned Divines look out for a millenium; the modern Philanthropist for the epoch of infinite Perfectibility. Both equally distant because equally infinite. The advancement of man to this state of Perfection, is like those two geometrical lines, which are continually approaching, & yet will never touch. Cordorcet appears to me the ablest, & at the same Time, equally as visionary as Godwin or any other. I cannot agree with Wishaupt, that the time will arrive, when no Government will be necessary, because that Time, upon their own Hypothesis, is infinitely distant; but I do most firmly believe, that the Xn Religion rightly understood, & carried into full effect, would establish a pure Democracy over the world. It's main Pillars are—Equality, Fraternity, Justice, universal Benevolence. So far Wishaupt & myself most cordially agree. I have intended to publish a discourse, which I have by me, the object of which is to prove, that the true Xn must be a good Democrat.¹ It is astonishing what enemies to Xy, its advocates generally are.—Morse is a blockhead.—I enclose a letter from our Friend Tucker to him.—You will find, that he is treated as he deserved; & with him the whole Tribe of Sycophants.²

The views held by Madison in this regard as voiced abroad by many and as received by many are rather clearly indicated by one of the students:

I was really somewhat surprised, to find the Bishop so firm a Christian, as I now believe him; after having so frequently heard, that he was a deist in sentiment. If he is not a Christian, he certainly is the most consummate hypocrite; and this I cannot believe of him; his firm belief is manifested in every action of his life.³

It is certain that this rather widespread interpretation of his views adversely affected his leadership role at the College. Men would not send their sons into a hotbed of deism. On the other hand, the spirit of skepticism which perhaps made possible the development and/or adoption of such ideas as those of deism was viewed by many of her sons as a

¹Reportedly, Bishop Madison would never speak of Heaven in his sermons as a kingdom but rather would refer to it as "that great republic where there was no distinction of rank and where all men were free and equal" (Note 8, VMH 29[April 1921]:140).

²Madison to [Jefferson], 1 February 1800, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Johnson to Watson, 19 December 1799, VMH 29(July 1921):266.

primary contribution to the acquisition of knowledge as noted by Isaac Coles, writing to Henry St. George Tucker in July 1799. President Madison, and Jefferson as well, had imbibed this spirit through the study of the natural sciences and experimental philosophy under William Small who came to the College from Birmingham, England, about 1756. Subsequently, natural philosophy became Madison's favorite study; and under his tutelage the spirit of scientific inquiry continued to excite the minds and spirits of the young men who came to William and Mary, as can be seen in Cole's letter:

The spirit of skepticism which so much prevailed & which every student acquired as soon as he touched the threshold of the College is certainly the first step towards knowledge; it puts the mind in a proper state not only to receive, but also to receive correctly. That it leads to Deism, atheism &c I will acknowledge, but on the same grounds we may object to reason. Skepticism indeed only gives it the reins.¹

At a time when the Disestablished Church itself was viewed as an antagonist to the doctrine of separation of church and state and at a time when the glebe lands were an object of political and religious controversy, Madison as head of the Disestablished Church in Virginia was certainly an object of skepticism; and his leadership role at the College was undoubtedly adversely affected when viewed from the perspective of the citizenry at large.

Of the social life of the students, it would appear that the College provided planned entertainment at times: "We are to have a kind of shew tonight, the fellow promises largely viz. Chinese shades the

¹I. A. Coles to Henry St. George Tucker, 20 July 1799, WMQ 8 (January 1900):159.

flying of snakes and other philosophical experiments too hideous to mention."¹ Also, the students were very much a part of the social life of the community of Williamsburg. One student wrote that his "acquaintances with the inhabitants has progressed very slowly, tho' it has kept pace with my desires, for I find that an extensive acquaintance, would be incompatible with close study."² He further observed that he had found the few acquaintances he had made to be polite and agreeable and that the people generally appeared to be extremely gay and extravagant. "There have been not less than four balls, since I came to town, & ...another this week. To one, who has spent his life in Louisa, where a ball is almost a phenomenon, this must appear the height of extravagance."³

Another student shared with his brother details of a social function which was sponsored by the students and included the citizens of Williamsburg. His letter also indicates that the students had social intercourse with members of the Faculty:

On last Saturday fortnight your old friend N. Beale was married to Nancy Maupin. On Wednesday evening last a splendid Ball was given them by the Students, who seemed rejoiced at such an opportunity of showing their esteem for Norbonne⁴ for he is much beloved by them. I was then introduced to Mrs. Beale...[who] mentioned that she was very intimate with you while you were here; I have not yet been able to cultivate their [the citizens] acquaintance so much as I would wish to do. I have visited at only two places since I have been

¹Robert Michie to David Watson, 21 December 1799, VMH 29(July 1921):260.

²Johnson to Watson, 19 December 1799, VMH 29(July 1921):266.

³Ibid.

⁴Norbonne Beale was at William and Mary in 1798. A Provisional List, p. 7.

here. At Mr. Andrews, I dined soon after I came down and on Saturday last at Mr. Greenbow's. Greenbow entertains more of the Students than anyone in town. I received a pressing invitation at the Ball, from old Mrs. Russell¹. She has a little daughter, she says, half distracted to see me.

The students even served as a source of poetic inspiration to the townspeople. The following handwritten verse entitled "Our Friends" is supposed to have been written circa 1800 by a lady of Williamsburg in compliment to some of the students at the College.

Our Friends

Oh let the pleasing task be mine

To speak the worth which all confess!

To praise, to praise, & to bless,

Taylor the power in him, indeed is thine

See Scott with every virtue fraught,

By precept, & precept early taught.

A bright example shines among the great,

Good as great Alfred, as Windsor just.

In Morris the best feeling of the heart

With nature's smiles the happiest joy is found,

And in his soul he

Surveying all nature with a placid mind,

Taylor has not a wish to ruffle or controul,

The equal temper of his tranquil soul,

Who on a subject is so safe & true,

No private passion nor darling sin

Can check his walk in virtuous path,

True from anger malice vice or wrath.

He shows the genuine virtues of thy sympathetic heart,

Christened by reason, ripened to sublime,

Nursed by honor, truth, & worth,

Call loud for admiration from us all.

25
25
725
30.
8025

Caroline

¹Watson to Watson, 9 December 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):150.

There's nought true courage prompts
 Or virtue justifies, or honor calls
 That ~~of~~ ^{your} dare attempt;
 His sense and manners both engage
 To smile contempt, on folly's rage,
 This makes him worthy of our highest praise.
 Religion has heavenly virtue, standing forth
 With modesty, & grace and decent pride.
 That adorns & adorns his way,
 Language is poor to speak one half his praise,
 Virtue is heaven's care: and Simpkins claims its patronage,
 His thoughts are pure, as the new-fallen snow,
 Which rests on Appennine majestic heights,
 His sun which in its own shines with such lustre
 Must not be dimmed by a cloud.
 Supena didst thou mark that figure & smile,
 Those eyes which spoke at once heroic ardour,
 And melting tenderness in French
 Whose grace blooms but here that form contains,
 A soul more worthy admiration.
 The generous purpose of thy grateful warm heart,
 Truth to enforce & pleasure to impart,
 To ment-mentures thy welcome, (to say no more)
 Which in Ladies like angels want almost to avoid,
 Look on Andrews a modest unassuming youth,
 Who steadily ^{with his way} ~~up~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~mountain~~ ^{mountain},
 May be the helm to merit due obtain.
 O! Brown the far away, mimic night thy notes
 As grateful incense round the hearts of all thy friends,
 May you return deep silence in Asculapian corn
 Thy great blush to ~~be a~~ ^{be a} ~~chaste~~ ^{chaste} ~~master~~ ^{master}.

The foregoing poetry is supposed to have been written by
~~of~~ ^a lady of Williamsburg in compla-
 ment to some of the students of Wm & Mary College.

¹The anonymous handwritten verse is the gift of Mr. W. Ludwell Harrison. College Manuscripts, Small Collections, Archives, College of William and Mary. Reproduced with permission of the Manuscripts Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

The warmth and support of the community of Williamsburg, though characterized as an evil by many outside observers, did surely for the most part redound to the over-all benefit and well-being of the College; and, as will be seen, the citizens provided leadership for the College at times when no other leadership existed.

Of the students' attitudes with regard to political issues and events, it appears that they were both active and effective in communicating their views. At the time of Washington's death, President Madison's proposal to the students that they wear a piece of crape as a testimony of esteem and respect, if not opposed by principle to doing so, was accompanied, one student observed, by two additional considerations: first, such a measure had been adopted by the Assembly and by himself as well; and second,

...[a] consideration which...had some weight with him (a consideration which seems to me to have too great an influence over all his [Madison's] actions)...a desire to contradict as much as lay in his power, those reports which have been for some time so industriously circulated throughout the State, that this is so far led away by Jacobinical, disorganizing principles as not only to be enemies to the Union, but even to have forgotten the services of those who most distinguished themselves in the cause of American Independence.²

Most of the students, his letter continued, were wearing black, including himself; but several of the students, opposed to the measure,

¹"Jacobins" and "Aristocrats" were political terms borrowed from France. The Republicans or Jacobins admired France and the French Revolution, and the Federalists or Aristocrats held contrary views and leaned toward England. The large majority of people of Virginia at this time were enthusiastically for the Republican party, including Jefferson and Madison; exceptions were eminent men like Washington, Marshall, and Henry Lee.

²Watson to Watson, 24 December 1799, VMH 29(April 1921):152.

called a meeting immediately; debated the matter for two or three hours, with considerable warmth; adjourned until the next day because several students were absent; met again and debated for several hours and voted, with the result being twenty "in favour of the measure; six or seven against it. You may suppose...that the will of the majority was to influence the conduct of the others. But not so. No one was desired to act otherwise than as his inclination led him. The meeting was merely to persuade."¹ The spirit of Republicanism ran high at the College of William and Mary, and student reactions to issues and events were not always as calmly resolved as in this instance. However, the intellectual freedom and exercise of debate encouraged by the Faculty among the students should be considered indicative of a wise leadership on their part.

The spirit of party strongly influenced men's lives at this time in American history, and the intensity of feeling between the Republicans and the Federalists had climaxed with the enactment of the Alien and Sedition laws. In October of 1798, Jefferson had written that he believed them to be "experiments on the American mind to see if they would bear an open violation of the Constitution. If so, then another act making Adams President for life would surely follow, and then another fixing the succession in his family."² Earlier that year, in May, Madison had written Jefferson, stating that the Alien bill was a monster that must forever disgrace its parents and that President Adams' letter to the young men of Pennsylvania "is the most damnable and degrading

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., note 21.

that could fall from the lips of the first magistrate of an independent people."¹ The students at William and Mary, however, also caught up in the intensity of party spirit, did not limit their response to verbal expression. On July 4th some of them paraded an effigy of the President of the United States through the streets of Williamsburg and burned another effigy designating the same character that evening. One of the few surviving extracts from the Proceedings of the Faculty details the students' actions on that date. The Proceedings, dated July 11th, 1798, state that,

The Society having been informed that an effigy said to designate the President of the United States was paraded through the streets of Williamsburg on the 4th instant by certain students of the College, and that one or more students, supposed to be different from the others, also assisted on the evening of the said day to burn another effigy said to designate the same character.

Resolved unanimously that the Society do condemn and censure the conduct of the said students as highly indecent, and as tending to bring into contempt and create an opposition to the constituted authorities of our country.²

One noted historian states that Washington's effigy was paraded through the town and publicly incinerated.³ However, the documentation cited and that available to the author of this study, the extract from the Proceedings of the Faculty, does not identify the President by name; and John Adams, having assumed the office of President of the United States in 1797, was President at the time, not Washington. The conduct of the students corresponded to the tenor of the times; and it is reasonable to

¹Ibid.

²An extract from the Proceedings of the Faculty, 11 July 1798. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 55, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Morpurgo, p. 221.

assume that the effigy designated President John Adams and not George Washington who had been out of office for approximately one and one-half years.

A more rational mode of dealing with the contagion of intense party spirit at this time is evidenced in the students' correspondence.

Joseph Cabell noted in his letter of June 7th:

...I feel happy in fraternizing with my brother republicans at a time when they appear to be the objects on which the other half of the community vent all their angry passions....The federalists have excited a belief that the legislature intended, and that their measures led to, disunion. The people fearing disunion as the worst of evils have therefore thought it better even at the risk of bad laws, to elect men who would never consent to a dissolution of the federal compact. When evil effects have flowed from certain causes, we are apt to wonder that those effects were not foreseen by the author of their causes. Perhaps we should in similar circumstances find our sagacity, foresight and penetration fall equally as far short of perfection.¹

Chapman Johnson, noting that popular opinion indicated that Jefferson was to be the next president, wrote a short time later:

I suppose I am pleased....I only wish that it may not be a mistake. What has produced the change? I suppose the number of innocent victims of the oppressive sedition law, the repeated and frequent violations of the Constitution, the want of that cabalistic term "French Invasion" and perhaps the operation of Congressional taxes, have, at length, taught the people to reflect and endeavour to avoid the dangerous abyss, on the brink of which they have so long tottered.

I should like to have your opinion of the constitutionality if the late election bill passes in Congress. From the slight reading I have given it, there appears to me palpable infractions of the Constitution contained in it.²

The response of the President and the Faculty to the students' sometimes overzealous display of party spirit would indicate a tolerance and

¹Joseph Cabell to David Watson, 7 June 1799, VMH 29(July 1921):263-264.

²Johnson to Watson, 18 May 1800, VMH 29(July 1921):271.

wisdom necessary for the exercise of wise leadership by some; others would consider their response to be an indication of weak and ineffective leadership. Considering the tenor of the times, it was probably the former.

Of the students' attitudes with regard to Faculty decisions, it is indicated in the evidence that at times they were less than compliant, even rather strongly reactionary. The winter of 1800 witnessed such a student reactionary response to a Faculty disciplinary decision, the details of which were noted by one of the students who was concerned that people might draw unfavorable and unjust conclusions regarding the professors. This would indicate a rather weak Faculty leadership position at the College and a somewhat less than high regard among the people of Virginia for its ability to make wise decisions in administering the affairs of the College, including student discipline. A summary of young Johnson's detailed account of the "unfortunate disturbance" is as follows.

The "old" postmaster, Davis, who had repeatedly insulted a student, Smith, was repaid "in his own coin" one night "whilst delivering the papers" at the post office. Smith, after a few glasses of wine, had conceived a method of revenge; had gone to the post office; and had indulged in "unrestrained and immediate abuse" of Davis. Professor Bracken, who, unknown to Smith, happened to be in the post office at the time, witnessed this abuse, "the most profane and obscene language he had ever heard." Because Smith resolved to justify his conduct, the Society, in reviewing the incident the following day, voted expulsion.

The students, agitated by the decision, censured the Faculty, particularly Judge Tucker (who apparently did nothing more than examine the witnesses and express an opinion), and declared they would publish the injustice of the expulsion and would break the Judge's windows if the expulsion were continued. After reflection, however, the students met to decide on a mode of proceeding that would obtain a repeal for Smith. They appointed a committee to prepare a written statement outlining the evils that would ensue, the injustice of the sentence, and a request for a repeal. This was presented to President Madison who called Johnson in to serve as mediator and indicated to him his concern for Smith, the unacceptable tone of the students' address, and the necessity for a proper address which would state the general good conduct of Smith, the impropriety of his recent conduct, and a promise of good behavior. The students again met, proposed another address which was rejected, and then sent the original address to the other professors. Judge Tucker agreed with President Madison; the professors proceeded to meet a second and a third time, "and at length determined to let the business drop and S. remain a student."¹

Such a response on the part of the President and the Faculty would seem to indicate indecision, an inability to administer discipline. The Statutes did state that "profane swearing and cursing...whether within or without the walls of the University, shall be particularly animadverted on, and punished by reproof, public censure or expulsion, as to the Society shall appear to be proper."² Was it not "the study of

¹Ibid., pp. 267-269.

²Statutes, 1792, IV:2.

its professors to cultivate at the same time the intellect, the principles, and the deportment of the student, laboring with equal diligence to infuse the spirit of the scholar and the spirit of the gentleman"?¹ Was not the "cautious and forbearing spirit of...[their] legislation... not only proof...[of] no disposition to harrass...[the students] with unreasonable requirements, but a pledge that such regulations as...found ...necessary to make will be enforced"?² Was a challenged and un-enforced punishment of expulsion and no explanation, only silence, indicative of a loss of leadership on the part of the President, the Faculty, or both? Who occupied the position of leadership—no one? the students?

One historian states that not one wrongdoer was expelled throughout the whole of Madison's presidency and attributes this to the probable fact that the College could not afford to lose the fees of even one student.³ Were the economic exigencies of the College this great? In light of the various economic expedients since the Revolution, this is a plausible explanation. But was silence the wisest course to follow? The statement that Madison expelled not one wrongdoer throughout the whole of his administration will be proven invalid; but at this point in his thirty-five year tenure, the evidence would seem to support its validity. And it would appear that the years and the demands of Madison's multi-faceted, pluralistic responsibilities were indeed exacting their price and imposing on his leadership role.

¹From Professor Nathaniel Beverley Tucker's address to his law class, WMQ 6, 1st ser.(January 1898):184-185, note 3.

²Ibid.

³Morpurgo, p. 221.

At this time, however, another body occupying a position of leadership at the College and dormant for five long years had decided to stir. The meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors which Madison had indicated to Jefferson he hoped to obtain on or about March 25th actually was held on that date, the first in five years. In a letter to Jefferson dated 30 March 1800, Madison related the "success" of this meeting:

I mentioned in a former Letter, that a meeting of the Visitors of this College was expected on the 25th Inst. & that I would communicate to them Mr. Smith's Proposition; or rather, your Recommendation of that gentleman.—A meeting was obtained, but nothing of consequence was done. Some preparatory steps were taken for a full discussion of Collegiate Business, the 4th of July. I have no Doubt of a meeting on that Date as the new Elections were confined to the neighborhood, but I fear, the Funds of the College, unless the Grammar School should be once more abolished which I do not expect, will not permit us to indulge the Hope of a Revival of the Chymical Professorship. I wish most sincerely for the Removal of every obstacle; but it seems easier to move mountains than to eradicate old Prejudices. They seem, like the stone of Sysiphus, to be eternally tumbling back upon us.¹

The members of the Board of Governors and Visitors whose date of election is indicated as 1800 and who were probably elected at this July 4th meeting include the following: John Blair, Williamsburg; Wilson Miles Cary, Elizabeth City; William Coleman, Williamsburg; John Minson Galt, Williamsburg; Robert Greenbow, Williamsburg; William Lee, James City; Thomas Nelson, York; Mann Page, jun., Gloucester; Robert Saunders, Williamsburg; Littleton W. Tazewell, Norfolk; William Tazewell, Williamsburg; Champion Travis, James City; Robert [H. or P.?] Waller,

¹J[ames] Madison to [Thomas Jefferson], 30 March 1800, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni Files, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Williamsburg.¹ Available evidence does not indicate whether these elected members constituted the entire make-up of the Board of Governors and Visitors or whether others previously elected to membership continued in this capacity.² It is noted in the available records that

¹A Provisional List, pp. 51-55. A note on page 51 states that "Most of these names are taken from the History of the College published in 1874 containing a general catalogue. The compiler of that catalogue used records that are now lost. The names are printed therefore without complete verification. The records of the Board of Visitors exist today in sequence only from 1860 to date. Minutes of a few meetings only before that date are preserved as separate manuscripts; these have been found among family papers."

²The Transfer of the Charter in 1729 specifically named eighteen trustees, specifying that they "and their successors, to be for ever the true and undoubted visitors and governors of the said College; and did give them, or the major part of them, power, from time to time, to make statutes and ordinances for the good government of the said College: And did grant unto them perpetual succession, and that they and their successors should for ever be eighteen persons, or any other number not exceeding twenty; and that one discreet and fit person, out of their number, should be rector of the said College, to be elected and appointed as in the said letters patents is expressed; and did appoint the said James Blair first rector of the said College, to continue in that office for one year next after the founding of the said College. And for perpetuating the succession of the said visitors and governors [*italics are the author's*], did grant that as often as any of the said visitors and governors of the said College should die, or remove him or themselves, or their families, out of the said colony, and go into foreign parts with intent not to return, that then it should be lawful for the survivors, or the remaining, or the greater part of them, to choose, nominate, and appoint one other or more of the principal and better inhabitants of the said colony of Virginia, into the place or places of such visitor or governor, or visitors or governors, so dying or removing" ("The Charter, The Transfer, Acts, 1888, 1906," Bulletin 6 [January 1913]:23-24).

As a member of the Committee of Revisors, Jefferson had incorporated into his Bill "for Amending the Constitution of the College of William and Mary and Substituting Certain Revenues for its Support" a reduction in the number of Visitors to five, to be elected annually by the Assembly (Julian P. Boyd, ed., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950], 2:539); but his bill was kept out of the legislative program until 1785, when it was introduced, reintroduced and then quietly dropped. Madison himself, as the probable anonymous correspondent in the Virginia Gazette, 22 November 1776, has

during the remaining years of Madison's administration, eight other persons were elected to serve on the Board: in about 1802, James Monroe of Middlesex; in 1803, James Semple of Williamsburg; in 1804, Nicholas Faulcon of Surry, John Tyler of Charles City, Samuel Tyler of Charles City, and William Wirt of Charles City; in 1808, Alexander D. Galt of Williamsburg, Robert Nelson of Williamsburg, and John B. Seawell of Gloucester; in 1810, Gawain L. Corbin of York. In the year 1812, three members were elected to the Board; but their elections probably took place after Madison's death on March 6th: William Armistead of [—], William Browne of Williamsburg, and John H. Smith of King and Queen.¹

In the summer of 1800, following the May vacation, President Madison apparently considered leaving the College seriously enough to communicate his intentions to the students. Evidence of such considerations are revealed in Chapman Johnson's letter of 14 August 1800: "I wrote to Shelton that the Bishop had expressed an intention of leaving us. He has, now, resolved to continue here another course, at all events. It is possible you will see his reverence at the Springs; as he has some expectation of calling there, on his return from up the Coun-

included among the proposals addressed to "the Honourable the Assembly of Virginia" a suggestion that Visitors be appointed by the Assembly, that all future vacancies be filled by the Assembly, and that the College "might be best provided for by appointing not more than 12 visitors, and confining the choice of them to a circle of 40 miles...around the College. ...Now if visitors are of any use (and, in my opinion they may be in a very eminent degree) it is only when they live within...a convenient distance to attend whenever summoned. Any who live at a greater distance are worse than nothing....Again, a multitude is generally observed to be an obstruction to business; but where any matter rests with a few, they are careful to attend, and more likely to give the necessary dispatch" (Virginia Gazette, 22 November 1776).

¹A Provisional List, pp. 51-55.

try."¹ Whether this communication to the students took place before or after the meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors on July 4th is not known. One could assume, however, that the communication probably took place at some time between the meeting of the Board on March 25th and the meeting presumably held on July 4th and that the presence of a revitalized Board to share the responsibilities of leadership provided Madison with the impetus needed to continue in his capacity as President of the College. This is not the first indication, however, that Madison had considered leaving the College.

On 12 November 1794, Madison wrote to his second cousin,² James Madison, who was at that time a member of Congress at Philadelphia and who later became President of the United States, 1809-1817:

About two years past, Mr. Jefferson proposed to me a scheme of establishing a University for this State, in some central position. Will you give me aid in perfecting the Plan?—Will you, when it is perfected, become its' Patron & advocate in the [next?] Virg^a Legislature?

I have mentioned the above, not only as object of grave Importance to the Community in general, but also, because my own movements may be affected by the opinion which you may entertain upon the subject.—I have Thought[t] [of?] retiring to some comfortable little Town in a healthy Part of the Country.³

Madison's response to his cousin's reply did not directly discuss further his ideas regarding his "own movements" which he had indicated might be affected by his cousin's response, but he did discuss the proposed university and his own ideas concerning a mode of education:

¹Johnson to Watson, 14 August 1800, VMH 29(July 1921):272.

²James Madison to Mr. Walsh, 15 July 1831, Manuscripts, James Madison Papers, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

³J[ames] Madison to [James Madison], 12 November 1794, James M. Owens Collection, Box 4, Folder 6, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

I confess your answer, respecting the proposed University, was in a great measure anticipated. But as Mr. Jefferson originated the Idea, or Proposition, & referred me to your aid, I wished to hear your own Declaration upon the Subject.—Should any fortunate Circumstance place either yourself or Mr. J. in the Legislature, this great Important Object might be, I am persuaded, readily effected. Otherwise, I am equally persuaded it is likely unattainable—. The Proposition then must sleep, till one or other of you, shall think proper to awake it [*italics the author's*].—As to myself, I was anxious to see the good work begun, not only on Acct. of its Importance as it must strike the mind of every one, but in this Age of Revolution, I wished to see my Country distinguished for a Revolution, which might liberate ye human mind from shackles more shameful, more injurious & more oppressive than any other which Ignorance or Ambition may have imposed.—I want to see adopted a Mode of Education, which shall tend to strengthen & not depress the mental Faculties, which shall habituate the infant mind to think, to reason at as early a Per[iod] as its Powers will permit, &, thus conduct it gradually to real Science.¹

Did Madison have the well-being of the College of William and Mary in mind, or did he have a medium for implementing his own views regarding education uppermost in his thoughts rather than the College itself? Was this an early expression of his frustration relative to his inability to incorporate real science, as he viewed it, more completely into the curriculum at William and Mary? Did this perhaps represent a strong conflict in educational objectives that may have existed between Madison and the Board of Governors and Visitors? Was this perhaps a major reason that the Board was a nonfunctioning entity which, in 1800, had not met for five years in spite of apparent efforts on Madison's part to convene this body charged with leadership responsibilities for the College? Apparently President Madison was supportive of the idea of establishing a state university at some central position in a healthy part of the state. Did he have in mind moving the College of William and Mary

¹Ibid., 24 December 1794.

or establishing a new state university in some new location? Do we see the seeds being nurtured, even sown perhaps, by Madison—the College's own President, the man occupying a most important position of leadership for the College—for Jefferson's later successful attempts to establish a new institution and not his Alma Mater as the institution for providing an university education for Virginia's youth? Was this the kind of leadership the College needed? It is evident from his letter that he was anxious to see the work begun and was persuaded that it was attainable if either Madison or Jefferson were elected to the Legislature—and this was in the year 1794!

Another earlier indication of Madison's interest in leaving William and Mary is seen in a letter dated 30 April 1798, in which David Meade of Kentucky expressed to Judge Prentis of Williamsburg his pleasure in knowing that

...your good Bishop the president of William and Mary purposes to visit Kentucky [torn] fall with a view of procuring a Farm for His future residence....the probability of having the Bishop for our neighbor makes me more anxious about his coming—His Brother Col^o₁ Gabriel Madison lives within little more than two miles of us....¹

And in January 1800, Madison again mentioned to his cousin the establishment of a college in the middle of the state as being a worthy object for the Legislature to consider as well as being a means of acquiring for Virginia her rightful preeminence;² and a few months later, on October 6th and again on December 28th, he communicated to his

¹David Meade to Judge Prentis, 30 April 1798, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²J[ames] Madison to James Madison, 9 January 1800, James M. Owens Collection, Box 4, Folder 6, Manuscript Collection, College of William and Mary.

cousin his interest in lands in Louisa County on the Green Springs Tract, especially one recently sold by Chapman Johnson which he would have bought had he known it was for sale. He had subsequently made a bid, which was still pending, on a tract belonging to Richard Johnson whose price he had determined to be too high.¹ Just precisely what Madison had in mind at the times of these communications, one can only conjecture perhaps; but it is rather clear that his plans did not include the College of William and Mary or, if so, not in her present location in Williamsburg. This surely did not provide for the College at this time the responsible, involved, and committed leadership it needed from its President.

By the beginning of the fall lectures, an interesting relationship between Madison and the students had emerged, a relationship involving the Societies—a prominent aspect of student life at William and Mary. In a letter dated 27 October 1800, Chapman Johnson related the following:

The students here are about to institute a Society, upon a model not infrequently practiced here, but which, I think almost the only one, that can be of material advantage to the members. It will be organized on the principles of a legislative assembly, as far as the rules will be applicable. The Bishop will be President. It is his desire that the doors shall be open to every body. This I believe will not go down with the students. A society formed thus, whose rules will resemble those of our legislature, and at whose head is a man, who will, by his presence, command the members into order, respect and awe, will, I flatter myself, be attended with every advantage possibly desirable from institutions of this kind. He who wishes to make himself conversant in the proceedings of a legislative body, or aspires at the seat of a legislator, may more familiarize himself with their rules and acquire an interesting qualification for a representative. If any be animated with the charms of true eloquence, here may he pursue her without danger of

¹Ibid., 9 October 1800 and 28 December 1800.

falling into the fatal but too attractive snares of false show and splendid bombast.¹

Madison was "much pleased at being requested to take the chair of this society, [and] took an uncommon interest in its welfare";² and young Johnson's characterization of Madison as "a man, who will by his presence, command the members into order, respect and awe"³ is certainly that which would be ascribed to a leader. But, unfortunately, the society was not to realize the predicted, and desired, success in spite of Madison's interest in its welfare.

Both social and debating societies existed at William and Mary; and most prominent among the earlier societies were the F.H.C. Society, a socially exclusive society, and the Phi Beta Kappa Society, essentially a debating society. The F.H.C. Society, which was founded in 1750 and which continued until its collapse during the Revolution, was begun with serious intent but deteriorated into little more than a drinking club. Secrecy was not specifically required of its members; but not one of those elected to membership unravelled for posterity the meaning of the letters F.H.C., and the best guess would seem to be Fraternitas, Hilaritas, Cognitioque.⁴

The Phi Beta Kappa Society was founded on December 5, 1776 (and was actually organized during the same week that Madison, a Professor at

¹Johnson to Watson, 27 October 1800, VMH 29(July 1921):273-274.

²Joseph Cabell to David Watson, 6 April 1801, VMH 29(July 1921):278.

³Johnson to Watson, 27 October 1800, VMH 29(July 1921):278.

⁴Jane Carson, James Innes and His Brothers of the F.H.C. (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1965), p. 7.

the College, challenged President John Camm at a Faculty meeting, November 29, 1776, by proposing that mentioning the date from the birth of Christ was sufficient in granting Surveyors' Commissions, thereby implying that the King's name should be dropped from official documents of the College; a few months later Madison was elected President). The Society was the first American intercollegiate Greek letter fraternity and has come to be regarded as one of William and Mary's most outstanding contributions to the intellectual life of America. It was carried to Harvard and Yale in 1779 by Elisha Parmele, and it eventually spread throughout the North. The Alpha Chapter at William and Mary, whose principal business was debates among its members, held its last meeting on January 6, 1781, having functioned just a little more than five years. It was not revived until 1849, so it was not an active part of the College life during the period of this study. It was again discontinued at the outbreak of the Civil War and was reestablished once again in 1893.¹

In addition to his interest in the societies of the students, Madison was also an active and contributing member of the American Philosophical Society, having been elected to membership 22 January 1785. This society was organized in 1766 as "The American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge, held in Philadelphia" with Benjamin Franklin as its first president; he remained president until his death in 1790. Thomas Jefferson served as president of the society from 1797-1800. The society played an important part in the scientific life of Virginia; and the contributions of the eighteen Virginians

¹Vital Facts, p. 9.

elected to membership between 1768 and 1800, and of others from Virginia, were varied and many. The society's first volume of publications appeared in 1771 under the title, "The American Philosophical Transactions." Madison's contributions prior to 1800 include treatises on "Meteorological Observations," "Waters of Sweet Springs," "Observations On a Lunar Eclipse," and "Experiments in Magnetism."¹

It is evident then that Madison's interest in science was not limited to lectures in the classroom; although, as has been noted, his lectures were a source of fascination and inspiration for his students in their pursuit of knowledge in Natural Philosophy.² Madison's interest in science also extended to his correspondence; for he frequently included matters of scientific interest in his correspondence with Jefferson; with his cousin, James Madison; and with others interested in scientific pursuits. The variety of his interests in science is evident in these letters as well as in his contributions to the American Philosophical Society. Added to his letter of 17 January 1800, to Jefferson was a two page treatise which included comments on Jeffer-

¹Sir Austin H. Clark, "Science in the Old Dominion," Founders Day Address, 1937, Bulletin, Medical College of Virginia, pp. 23-25. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Among the College Archives is a bound volume of notes on natural philosophy taken from Madison's lectures by H. I. Peyton; and on the front cover is written William & Mary College Dec^r 1800. The lectures are listed on the title page as "The Parts" and includes Properties of Matter, Mechanics, Electricity, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics and Optics; and on the last page is written "Finished 21st day of April 1801." The notes have frequent headnotes, are clearly and neatly written with a half inch left margin observed throughout; and the pages are numbered at the top left margin—an incredibly well-written set of notes! James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

son's observation upon the Megalensis; the doubtful role of saltpeter in preserving some bones; the need for the Philosophical Society or perhaps the United States government to have someone examine a wall in North Carolina purported to be an extraordinary phenomenon; and his conclusion, following specific experiments, that the Sweet Springs waters did not contain any magnesia.¹

On 16 December 1800, Madison wrote to another fellow scientist, Benjamin Rush, a physician, scientist, and teacher in Philadelphia, regarding the effects of an extraordinary imbibition of poison from the leg of a young boy bitten by a copperhead snake because he felt it was "a fact, which in your hands may perhaps be of importance to the medical world."² Madison suggested that perhaps the same remedy might be applied in the case of a bite from a mad dog.³ Twelve days later, in a letter to his cousin, James Madison, he discussed some scientific experiments and concluded his letter by sharing with Madison a recent invitation received by the College:

¹J[ames] Madison to [Thomas Jefferson], 17 January 1800, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²J[ames] Madison to Dr. Benjamin Rush, 16 December 1800, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid. Madison related to Rush that during the time he was in the mountains that fall, reliable witnesses had witnessed the event; and he himself had seen the boy on the third day. Using what he termed an Indian practice, the following treatment had been administered. Four chickens had been plucked around the abdomen and the plucked area "closely applied" to the "swollen, slightly scorified wound." The first chicken applied died as instantly as if its head had been cut off; the second one applied died in about four minutes; the third, in about eight minutes; and the fourth "discovered some uneasiness" but did not die. The boy was relieved, suffering no greater "inconvenience" than a pin prick would have produced and was perfectly well on the second day.

I have just received from Rumford a Pamphlet, containing the Charter, Laws, Object &c of the royal, national Institution of G. Britain. Its' object is the Improvement of all Kinds of Machines, & to promote the just application of Philosophical Principles to useful Purposes. The ablest men are engaged to give Lectures in natural Philosophy &¹ Chemistry.—Our College is invited to assist in the laudable object.

Whether the College accepted the invitation to assist in the "laudable object" is not known. Madison's closing comments contain a bit of irony and indicate it may not have: "You see how they tread in the Steps of French Genius.—A Kind of Apology is made for the same, & they say they take it from the Institute, long established at Bologna."²

A historical note is perhaps relevant at this point; for early in the history of the Colony, the Virginia Assembly had attempted in various ways to stimulate various forms of industry involving applied science, but their efforts for the most part were unsuccessful because of opposition by English merchants. By 1759, however, her scientific men had begun to look less to England for leadership, preferring to cooperate among themselves, and had begun to give serious consideration to the application of science to manufacturing processes. In February of this year, the "Society for the Promotion of Manufactures" was formed at Williamsburg and was authorized by the General Assembly to offer bounties for discoveries and improvements in manufacturing processes; for example, because large sums of money were drained from the Colonial treasury for foreign wines and silks, a premium of five hundred pounds was offered to "any person who should, in any twelve months within eight

¹J[ames] Madison to James Madison, 28 December 1800, James M. Owens Collection, Box 4, Folder 6, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

years, make the best hogshead of wine; and...a second prize of one hundred pounds for the second best sample."¹

The preceding year, Francis Fauquier, who was a devotee of the sciences and a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, had come to Virginia as Lieutenant Governor; and in the same year, William Small had come to William and Mary as Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics. Their close friendship and interest in science was probably responsible for the grant of four hundred fifty pounds by the House of Burgesses in 1762 for the purchase of scientific apparatus for the College of William and Mary which was made in England by Small and shipped to the College, a collection reportedly superb enough to have made the College preeminent in the teaching of science in America.² Five years after its arrival at William and Mary, however, a correspondent in the Virginia Gazette, on 1 August 1771, noted that these fine instruments were "being suffered to lie in a room like useless Lumber, [and] cause [a] great indignation in the Burgesses who freely bestowed them for the advancement of the students in useful Knowledge."³

Madison, however, from the beginning of his tenure as Professor of Natural Philosophy, undoubtedly used this superb scientific paraphernalia to the advantage of himself and of his students. The Virginia Gazette for 22 August 1777, noted that on the 15th of August, the day of the founding of William and Mary (and twenty-one days before Madison's election to the Presidency of William and Mary), Mr. Madison, after a

¹Clark, "Founders Day Address," p. 23.

²Morpurgo, p. 140.

³Virginia Gazette, 1 August 1771.

prayer, delivered a sermon in which he recommended industry in the pursuit of science and outlined the advantages of such pursuits. This was followed by two orations. The first, delivered in Latin, was concerned with the utility of sciences; the second, delivered in English, discussed the question, "What form of government is most favorable to public virtue and the arts and sciences?"¹ And as has been noted, Madison's interest in science was still very much in evidence in 1800. A historian of the Episcopal Church, William A. R. Goodwin, states, "He was a fine classical scholar and was well versed in the humanities also, but his tastes ran strongly to scientific studies."² As a scientist, Madison's reputation provided for him and for the College a position of leadership in Virginia and in the nation as well (except, perhaps, for the deistic attributions attached to such interests by some).

Early in 1801 it is noted that Madison's interest in buying land for the purpose of settling in the country had abated somewhat; but a less than satisfied spirit and an interest in moving to another college were still present. Writing again to his cousin, James Madison, on 23 February, he discussed details of some land whose price he found to be beyond his means, indicating he would not want the cost of the land

¹Virginia Gazette, 22 August 1777.

²Rev. Wm. A. R. Goodwin, History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia (Rochester, N. Y.: The DuBois Press, [1923]), p. 69.

to exceed two thousand pounds considering other necessary expenses attendant upon forming a settlement.

My great wish was to accommodate not only myself, but my Family. Mrs. Madison seems to have changed very much in her wishes....Another circumstance has some weight at present. The Presidency of New York Coll....might be obtained if I would declare my willingness to accept. The plan is with from 800 to 1000 per An N Y Curn^y—I have desired a full account of the Duty required &c.—What may be the Result, I cannot as yet foretell.¹

This is the only available evidence concerning Madison's consideration of the Presidency of New York College. In the light of history, it is known that he did not accept; why and the extent to which he really gave such a move consideration is not known.

The society which had elected Madison president in the fall of 1800 "existed but a very short time even under his auspices. The Bishop ...was prodigiously wounded when it failed of success."² One probable cause for the society's failure could have been the general attitude of the students at the time toward societies in general: "The taste for Societies had raged to a prodigious extent among us throughout the winter and the junior students in particular seem to have delighted in forming and destroying them."³ Another factor contributing to its demise could have been the commencement of Professor Tucker's law lectures at which time "the whole of his class withdrew from the speaking clubs and since that time have been totally cut off from that species of

¹J[ames] Madison to James Madison, 23 February 1800, James M. Owens Collection, Box 4, Folder 6, Manuscript Collections, College of William and Mary.

²Joseph Cabell to David Watson, 6 April 1801, VMH 29(July 1921):278.

³Ibid.

improvement."¹ These lectures began the first of December; and as one student noted, Professor Tucker had been lecturing constantly since that time "and means to finish his course by the beginning of April, at which time he will set out on his circuit as a district c't judge."²

This in itself was probably a normal state of affairs, but the unreasoning dislike which Judge Tucker and Bishop Madison reputedly had for each other and the fact that the "Judge shortly before his departure gave us [his students] the plan of a law society and advised us to remain in Williamsburg till July for the purpose of assisting each other in the prosecution of our studies"³ could indicate that a modicum of professional rivalry was at work. The society which had elected Madison president had rules resembling, as noted, those of the legislature and had as its objectives acquisition of a knowledge of these rules, of the qualifications for a representative, and of a desired degree of oratorical eloquence.⁴ Professor Tucker's plan for a law society which he left for the students was one that "although a very judicious one has not been attempted on account of its requiring a greater knowledge of the mode of judicial proceedings than we possess. Besides most of the chaps are taking their leave of the College."⁵

¹Ibid., p. 279.

²Joseph C. Cabell to Dr. William B. Hare, 4 January 1801, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):215.

³Joseph Cabell to David Watson, 6 April 1801, VMH 29(July 1921):279.

⁴Johnson to Watson, 27 October 1800, VMH 29(July 1921):274.

⁵Joseph Cabell to David Watson, 6 April 1801, VMH 29(July 1921):279.

The failure of the society to succeed in its purpose was probably not due to the loss of a leadership relationship between Madison and the students. Evidence would suggest otherwise. It is probable, however, that an unproductive leadership posture did exist between the two professors. It is also probable that an actual loss of leadership control and direction for the student body as a whole did exist; otherwise the indiscriminate taste for societies would not have "ragged" throughout the winter, and the juniors would not have had an opportunity to "delight" in forming and destroying them. Professor Tucker was not fulfilling his leadership responsibilities; otherwise the law society plan advanced as a challenge would have been within the students' scope of background and competence. Tucker did, however, excite and challenge the students in the classroom. He lectured them on the law three hours every day except Sunday, and he helped them "to see that it requires much time, reflection, reading and experience to become well acquainted with the law, and that a really great lawyer must combine in himself some of the handsomest Talents of the Human mind."¹ In this respect he most assuredly did fill a leadership role at the College.

The number of students at the College this year was essentially the same as the preceding year, "about sixty. Wm. & Mary prospers."² The attitudes and habits prevalent among the students were viewed by one student as being "uncommonly favourable to the views of one who is anxious to profit greatly by a residence at the College....particularly

¹Cabell to Hare, 4 January 1801, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):215.

²Watson to Watson, 17 January 1801, VMH 29(April 1921):159. Goodwin determines the number of students in 1800-1801 to be forty-five.

the practice of Balling, visiting and lounging in one another's rooms, ...carried to an excess when I was here formerly."¹ This same student had a somewhat different view of his own behaviour, having returned to the College with a plan of study and a fixed determination to shun the scenes of pleasure and dissipation as long as he remained in Williamsburg. He had, however, missed scarcely a single ball or party and had confined his attention almost entirely to writers on the law; the other writers he had planned to read were still packed in his trunk. He consoled himself, however, with the observation that "although my own expectations here have not been answered yet I have the degraded satisfaction to find...others...have done but little with all the assistance of genius and application";² he did not regret the manner in which he had spent his time.

Social life at the College was still very much associated with that of the community. Several of the students were invited to Christmas dinner at Col.^o Skipwith's; a number of them frequently visited Mrs. Tazewell whose son, thought to have been lost during his trip to Europe, had returned home safely.³ A number of parties and balls were held during the winter, but "the old city has been remarkably dull..., principally...[on] account of the great Dearth of Beauty in the female sex [torn] visits and fire-side-conversations have succeeded in a great

¹Cabell to Hare, 4 January 1801, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):215.

²Joseph Cabell to David Watson, 6 April 1801, VMH 29(July 1921):277.

³Cabell to Hare, 4 January 1801, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):215.

measure to dancing [sic] and dining parties."¹ One student observed "We have had no weddings in Wms.Burg lately: but a multiplicity of deaths. The last fall proved very fatal to the old people of this place. The cause...must have been the sudden and violent changes of the weather."²

Another student perceived that the love of science was lacking in a great number of the young men, and habits of indolence and some degree of dissipation were too prevalent.³ He also cited a disciplinary problem which threatened to prove very prejudicial to the reputation of the College. About the middle of February, some students had decided to amuse themselves after an "orster" supper by "putting the town to rights."⁴ This they did by pulling down the palings of the yards and gardens of a number of residences, doing a great deal of damage. The Society examined only a part of the Students (those who lived in the College), and those examined exhibited a "weak and hesitating behaviour." The resolution was suspension for the remainder of the course; but commencement of the suspension was delayed several days, giving the

¹Joseph Cabell to David Watson, 6 April 1801, VMH 29(July 1921):279.

²Watson to Watson, 17 January 1801, VMH 29(April 1921):159.

³Watson to Watson, 2 March 1801, VMH 29(April 1921):164.

⁴The Virginia Historical Magazine notes that "College students, may, for a time, feed on such heady diet as Rousseau, Paine and Godwin, they may head their letters 'A. R.', and call each other 'Citizen'; but for all that they are naturally a most conservative race. 'Putting the town to rights'--words and act come down to modern times. There must still be old citizens in Williamsburg who recall (as some 'old boys' do) waking up one Sunday morning and finding the Duke of Gloucester Street, at Bruton Church, blocked with, apparently, all the outhouses, carriages, wagons and carts in town, and these decorated with signs from the offices of the legal and medical practitioners of the time" (Note 30, VMH 29[April 1921]:164).

guilty parties time to confess. The sentence was repealed; and in its stead a penalty of censure was imposed upon six of them.¹ It is doubtful that repeated vacillation in decision making among those responsible for the exercise of wise leadership is the best course to follow. The Society seems to act and then think rather than the reverse. Perhaps experience had shown that overacting was necessary in order to achieve the desired results.

Among the courses at the College, the Political Course and Law are specifically identified and discussed. One student noted that the "Bishop's" political course had included Smith's Wealth of Nations; Rousseau, whose work was open to important objections—but one dared not accuse him of error; Locke, whose work on the principles of government was excellent but cruelly distorted when applied to the English Constitution and so repetitious as to almost exhaust the patience of the reader; and Paine's Rights of Man was perhaps a little loose in style at times—but his pursuit of truth was by such a direct line, and his manner of expression so forcibly impressive that one read him with "exalted admiration and delight."² He felt that few if any sciences were more obstruse and intricate than that of political economy and strongly felt the need for a background in geography and in history.³ Another student, commenting on law, noted a changed view at the College toward the study of law:

¹Watson to Watson, 2 March 1801, VMH 29(April 1921):164.

²Ibid., pp. 159-160.

³Ibid., 1 April 1801, p. 166.

You may remember that a notion formerly prevailed here that a student of Law should make the study of his profession subservient to that of politics. This opinion however seems not to prevail here this course, but has yielded to one perhaps much more rational. The general opinion at this time appears to be that students of Law should devote their time partly to legal acquirements, partly to the pursuit of ¹general Science, and but partially to the Science of government.

Religion, science, politics, and even Godwin seemed to be out of fashion at this time; but party spirit was still quite high. The prevalence of a system of electioneering intrigue greatly concerned one student who classified it as being "nothing less than direct bribery.... [which] renders it difficult for the most eminent talents to rise into notice unless they will first descend into the lowest intrigues."² He felt it was time for Virginians to discard the "disgraceful remains of aristocratic venality [for what credit can one attach to an election] purchased at the expense of ones candor as a citizen and dignity as a man."³ In observing the books and opinions currently in vogue, he noted rather candidly:

It is really remarkable that the taste of the students here in favor of particular books and opinions varies as often as the fashions in the polite world. The Christian Religion is not as formerly a subject of general discussion, the science of metaphysics no longer engages the affections of the young men, political investigation has become less fashionable, and Godwins Political Justice is read only to two or three of the students. The College however is still famous for Republicanism. You cannot imagine with what ⁴Paroxysms of Joy we received the news of Mr. Jeffersons election.

¹Joseph Cabell to David Watson, 6 April 1801, VMH 29(July 1921):278.

²Ibid., 20 February 1801, p. 275.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 6 April 1801, p. 278.

Another student went into greater detail about the degree of joy with which Jefferson's election was received at the College, describing it as bordering almost on madness. He noted that immediately after receipt of the news nearly sixty students assembled and marched in a body down the street, shouting and whirling their hats, et cetera. Their enthusiasm spread through the whole town, being hailed with "hurra, hurra for Jefferson [by both] man [and] woman. As we passed down the street opposite Judge Tuckers, the old fellow came out, overjoyed at the news as much as any of us, and insisted on our going in and taking a glass of wine with him."¹ They decided on an oration to be delivered on March 4th by Joseph Watson; but he became ill and did not recover in time to prepare his speech, and apparently no one was appointed in his place. A splendid ball was given, however, in the Apollo Room at the Raleigh in celebration of the election. After all of this he concluded with a somewhat ironic statement: "This circumstance has occasioned a very astonishing and unnecessary interruption of business here."²

Indeed it had, for even before the news of Jefferson's election was received each evening's mail was awaited with the hope that it would "bring us something decisive. We expected it the last; but were doubly disappointed....anxiety and solicitude"³ marked every countenance wrote Chapman Johnson on February 20th; and out of this disappointment came a joke played on none other than Professor Andrews. As the stage passed

¹Watson to Watson, 2 March 1801, VMH 29(April 1921):161-162.

²Ibid., p. 163.

³Johnson to Watson, 20 February 1801, VMH 29(July 1921):275.

through the town, someone had proclaimed that Jefferson was elected. Johnson, hearing this pleasing sound, had joined in the exultation by hurrying to the post office for some authentic confirmation. There was none; the Northern mail had not arrived. En route to the College he passed Andrew's house, stopped, and asked his servant to inform him of Jefferson's election. Andrews, a Federalist, was deceived and much disappointed; and when he discovered the deception, he was "exceedingly hurt. If you are acquainted with Mr. Andrews' political prejudices you will enjoy the joke. He is the greatest aristocrat I ever saw."¹

Science was not entirely out of fashion at William and Mary; at least one student was very much interested in the study of science. On "April 1st, Anno 25" Joseph Watson wrote his brother that he had been engaged in the construction of an "Air-balloon" for several evenings.² Five weeks later he wrote that the "Spirit for Balloons," which at first concerned only two of them, had become a rage among the students. He proceeded to describe three attempts to raise a balloon; only the third attempt was successful. Their first attempt to raise one, a balloon six feet in diameter, took place on the Court House green "in the presence of a pretty numerous concourse." The students had set fire to "our spirits turpentine," and the balloon rose but caught in an eddy of wind, was drawn against the eaves of the Court House, tilted, and caught fire, mortifying the two young philosophers. On the second attempt, two or three other students joined them in constructing a balloon eight feet in diameter. This one, raised in the same place, failed "from our own

¹Ibid., pp. 275-276.

²Watson to Watson, 1 April 1801, VMH 29(April 1921):166.

imprudence." Their credibility and that of the College, they thought, was now at stake; and "one must be raised!" The enterprising young men formed a Balloon Company after enlisting some "warmly interested" students in their enterprise. They constructed another "very beautiful one, of [—]teen feet diameter, and ornamented it with sixteen blue stars."¹ Watson's description of the event is so vivid that the reader is there himself:

We again paraded on the Green. The evening was pleasant, and a numerous concourse was assembled. And indifferent spectators would have laughed at the trembling caution with which we now proceeded. This time we made use of spirits of Wine which gives a greater heat with less flame when sufficiently heated and expanded we let it loose. It rose gently into the air, and a general shout rose with it. I never saw so great and so universal delight as it gave to the spectators. And every one acknowledged that he had never seen a more beautiful spectacle when it had flown to a considerable distance, ²it bore a very striking resemblance to a moon in partial eclipse.

It is noted that this seems to have been the first time a balloon had been seen in Williamsburg, though a great interest in balloons had existed since the discoveries and the ascensions of the Montgolfier brothers in 1783.³ President Madison no doubt was very much interested in the activities of these young scientists, and he was undoubtedly very proud of them. It was good, too, that this young student had the opportunity to experience this success, for he died just four years later. Leadership is very much in evidence here both on the part of President Madison, their professor, and on the part of the students as well.

¹Ibid., 7 May 1801, pp. 167-168.

²Ibid., pp. 168-169.

³Ibid., p. 167, note 32.

President Madison's interest in the study of science continued also. Evidence of Madison's scientific pursuits at this time is indicated in two letters; one of these, addressed to St. George Tucker, also reveals that his personality had a humorous side:

May the Devil be exorcised, curs'd & wholly expelled whether he be in your Back, Hips, shoulders, arms, Knees, Eyes—or in any other Part of your Body.

Mazzei this morning set out from this, in order to dine with Mr. Epps—but after taking y^e Cuckolds Rounds, instead of getting to ye Forest, he is just arrived. to the great Diversion of the Batchelors. I don't know any Incident that has afforded more Laughter.—It affords me also an opp^r of begging you to get from Ryland Randolph's a Box of Minerals which he has there. They came from a Philosopher in Florence. As^d I am just beginning a study of mineralogy [torn] that, if you sh^d have an opp^r to convey them down—you will oblige me much. Do think of it.—I shall take care of y^r.Letter. Mrs. Tucker mentioned y^r affair, and I am really too much attached to her, to have forgot it. Mention to Leigh yr Brandy, and call him a lazy Fellow.—The Town affords nothing new that I know of—We have no doubtful genders amongst us, I hope, but if there by any we are all most sincerely yrs Best compts to yr Lady and Miss B.—¹

Many evidences of Tucker's sense of humor are available to us,² but few, if any other, of Madison's.

¹J[ames] Madison to [Judge St. George Tucker?], 10 January [1801], James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²"The Colonel [Judge Tucker's father] also thought St. George's antic sense of humor a liability and warned against 'that wit and absurdity which had always so delighted his familiar friends.' (The admonition seems to have been in vain, for there remained, even in the late years of Tucker's life as a dignified member of Virginia's high court, the charming quality of a boy who refused to grow up.)" Burke Davis, A Williamsburg Galaxy. (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1968), p. 220. "Have you made any more attacks on the Bishop either in the political or Scientific Line? Ah Tucker, you have as much mischief as I, though with a better face you can do it, because, while I rely on Parent nature, you bring to her aid the mighty Phalanx of the schools." Judge John Tyler [to Judge St. George Tucker], 10 July 1795, WMQ 2, 1st ser. (January 1894):202.

The second letter was written to his friend in Philadelphia, Benjamin Rush, for whom he had been trying to secure a serpent stone, petro de cobra, which had been found in Virginia. Their profit and the accompanying avarice had thus far prevented Madison from securing one; and consequently, he could not accurately describe it. However, the stone's efficacy in preventing hydrophobia had been ascertained; and Madison himself had witnessed the stone's striking power of imbibition. Madison also enclosed the slough of "one of our largest black snakes found at full length, turned inside out, and was very beautiful....You will observe in this operation of nature, that even the corner of the eye is thrown off. Perhaps it may be thought not unworthy of a small corner in your museum...."¹ Madison's continued interest in science, the scope of his interests, and his contributions to the discipline of science undoubtedly added to the prestige of the College and to his leadership posture as well.

Although the students indicated that Godwin was out of fashion this year, being read to only two or three students, President Madison indicated that the subject of Godwin at William and Mary was a very popular topic outside the College walls. The course he decided to follow in regard to this is indicated in a letter to his cousin, James Madison, as the fall term was about to begin:

I observed in the different Papers, such harping upon the Introduction of Godwin in Wm & Mary, that I determined to check, if possible the Current of Malevolence; especially as your Inquiry evinced, that the Supposition of such an Introduction was one of the Engines which was occasionally played off against Virginia. For this Purpose I have sent to the National Intelligencer a fictitious

¹J[ames] Madison to [Dr. Benjamin Rush], 15 December 1801, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

letter, stating however Facts with a few Observations. Nothing so strongly marks the Virulence & the Meanness of the disappointed Party, as their little Tricks to excite popular Odium. They carry with them the strongest Evidence, either of the most pitiful Hypocrisy, or the most bigotted Ignorance. But I believe the first is really the Case.¹

President Madison is probably the "gentleman from Williamsburg" or, at times, the "Citizen from Williamsburg" encountered in other published newspaper correspondence. In this instance he is certainly taking the initiative and assuming the necessary leadership role to protect the College and himself against public censure. St. George Tucker was another "Citizen of Williamsburg"; and Jedediah Morse was the target of his wrath when, at an earlier date, he had expressed his views and feelings in a somewhat less gentle manner than did President Madison.²

One of the most important indications of some exercise of initiative and leadership on the part of the President and the Society in a historical sense was their decision to remove the marble Statue of Lord Botetourt, the beloved Colonial Governor of Virginia who had served as Rector of the William and Mary Board of Visitors and who had established a fund for the purchase of two gold medals to be awarded annually by the College for excellence in classical learning and in natural philosophy, from the Capital to the College. They had purchased it in 1797 but had procrastinated in moving it. Finally, in 1801, they partially repaired it—its nose had been smashed, and its head and right arm had been broken off at some time after the Revolution—and then placed it in the

¹J[ames] Madison to James Madison, Secretary of State, 24 October 1801, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Judge John Tyler to [Judge St. George Tucker], 10 July 1795, WMQ 2, 1st ser.(January 1894):200.

center of the College walk in front of the Wren Building where it remained, except for a brief period during the Civil War, until 1958 when it was placed in storage. Some time after 1900 the freshmen began the practice of tipping their hats before the statue, and in 1919 the newly-admitted girls decided to curtsy to Lord Botetourt. Today he has found a permanent home in the Botetourt Gallery in Swem Library.¹ Its removal to the College grounds and its preservation is of historical import today. Knowledge of its removal from the Capitol to the College is available to us through a letter of Henry St. George Tucker, written to his father at the time of its removal:

Among the improvements which our little town can boast, is the removal of Lord Botetourt statue to College. It was purchased by the president and professors for \$100 and is placed in the center of the College walk, facing the town. His head has been very dexterously stuck on with an iron plug by the bishop and Mr. Moody in conjunction. His nose which was broken almost flat to his face as if it had been cut off in the Indies, has been scientifically renewed by Mr. Madison and the parts of the pedestal which were dispersed, have been carefully collected together, and it now cuts a very handsome figure indeed. It has already become in some measure a rendezvous to the curious, and should the statuaries improve in the art of mending arms and legs and noses, it will be very worthy of a visit when you return.²

If young Henry Tucker had to tell his father, the Professor of Law, of the Society's action, President Madison's leadership and not that of the Professors, at least not all of them, was at work here.

As the year drew to its close, President Madison wrote to his friend, Thomas Jefferson, now President of the United States, congratulating him on his message to Congress, and expressing the hope that

¹"Statue of Lord Botetourt, Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1768-1770." (Williamsburg: Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, 7 November 1977).

²Henry St. George Tucker to St. George Tucker, 8 August 1801, WMQ 10, 2nd ser. (April 1930):164.

Congress would second his views; for, if so, "then, we shall have, at last, one Example of a Govt. which will be faithful to the Purposes of its Institution."¹ In this same letter is evidence of the gentle and thoughtful manner with which Madison repeatedly aided parents in the education of their sons; there is also evidence that Jefferson, at this time, recommended William and Mary to parents for the education of their sons, in this instance the son of a Dr. Logan. Madison wrote that

...tho I cannot take him into my Family, at present, yet I will, with great satisfaction, make a Point of having him established in a manner which cannot fail of being agreeable. I will also superintend his education with Zeal; & I trust, with that success which will neither disappoint the solicitude of a Parent, nor be unworthy of your Recommendation. Nothing shall be wanting on my Part; & if the young gentleman should discover talents for Improvement & the requisite Disposition, I am assured his Friends will have no Reason to regret his having become a student of this Place.²

As can be seen, the responsibility for successfully pursuing an education in Madison's view is placed where it should be, on the College and on the student. Such a philosophy indicates a wise leadership posture on the part of the President; but, at the same time, one not always accepted by the student and the parent.

And so the year ends. No available evidence indicates that Mr. Bellini was at the College nor that there was instruction at the College in the Romance Languages. Nor is there evidence, other than student enrollment, of the financial health of the College. Whether the Board met or not is not known; on the basis of evidence it would appear that no elections to the Board were made. The leadership that was exercised was primarily that of President Madison, and he apparently was

¹J[ames] Madison to [Thomas Jefferson], 16 December 1801, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

interested in another college and in moving his family elsewhere. No one responsible for the welfare of the College, apparently, had her welfare uppermost in mind.

In the year 1802, the Board of Governors and Visitors was an active participant in the affairs of the College, thereby fulfilling or at least giving the appearance of fulfilling the leadership role with which it was charged by the Charter. This active interest of the Board was in response to the attitudes, the interests, and particularly the behaviour of some of the students. The number of students enrolled had increased, the student body numbering seventy-one;¹ and among those entering William and Mary for the first time was John Tyler,² a young man destined to become President of the United States. Surviving letters of several students provide clues regarding the habits, interests, and attitudes prevalent among members of the student body. Dissipation among the students was "intolerable, and...never could be reconciled to one raised in the mountains"³ observed one student who had just come to William and Mary on December 14th from Washington College in Lexington. Politics, he observed, had "entirely subsided. We are, however, all republicans, and consequently read the President's message with ecstasy and applause."⁴

¹Goodwin, Historical Notes.

²VMH 11(April 1904):412; A Provisional List, p. 41.

³Thomas L. Preston to Andrew Reid, Jr., 7 January 1802. WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):216.

⁴Ibid.

The party spirit had subsided; for Jefferson was in office. Affairs of state, however, continued to be of much interest to many of the young men at the College. On the subject of slavery one wrote, "The subject almost deprives me of moderation. Is it not miserable,...shameful...unworthy the character of Virginians, as of men, thus to live the unsafe trembling tyrants of an unhappy people?"¹ He observed that Mumford's² Chancery bill had been lost and even his little acquaintance with the organization of the Chancery system was sufficient to indicate that some change was necessary; he could not understand the excellence of a system which denies to a man in one court that justice which he may rightfully demand in another. He also expressed displeasure with the Senate for their negative vote on the Convention bill.

Wherefore this vain fear of Conventions?....Whilst the flame of republicanism burns...amongst us, there is no danger, but the elected convention will be guided by the light. But we are particularly happy; Wherefore reform? The Constitution, the basis of our political happiness is undoubtedly defective....The proudest edifice, if its foundation be decayed, may command the applause and admiration of the distant observer, but can only impress, with regret and alarm, the more accurate observer of its defects. I am so forcibly [impressed?], with the propriety of calling a convention that I have thought the House of Delegates³ would do well to recommend it to the consideration of the people.

This same young man was very much occupied with the study of law, so much so that there was no time for philosophy, belle lettres, or

¹Johnson to Watson, 24 January 1802, VMH 29(July 1921):280.

²William Mumford, in 1802, sent a circular letter to his constituents urging the extension of the franchise to all white freemen. WMQ 8, 2nd ser.(January 1928):25.

³Johnson to Watson, 24 January 1802, VMH 29(July 1921):281-282. A constitutional convention was not held in Virginia until 1829-30 despite frequent agitation for convening one.

history, nor was there any time for him to pursue his own inclination.¹ This was not true apparently for all of the students two of whom found time to disagree to the extent of fighting a duel, a Mr. Lee of Norfolk and a Mr. Yates of Fredericksburg; a duel in which, apparently, Yates was wounded.² The duel, the action of the Society—expulsion, and the reactions of the other students to the sentence of expulsion received wide publicity. The duel apparently took place in February; for a student, writing on 22 February 1802, wrote that he was "disgusted with the irregularity of the students. The college, because of the expulsion of two young men the other day, is in complete confusion....They were expelled on a vague report of having fought a duel."³

The students apparently disagreed with the sentence of expulsion; and finding their remonstrances in vain, some proceeded to damage the property of the College and that of some of the inhabitants of Williamsburg. Letters of students, of a lady from Williamsburg, and of

¹Another young man kept an excellent Latin notebook, which has survived, Alfred Hennen of Newport, Rhode Island. Individual Manuscripts, Archives, Colonial Williamsburg.

²Henry S. G. Tucker writing to Joseph C. Cabell, 28 March 1802, states that Lee and Yates fought a duel. Manuscripts Department, Box 2, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. John Orfeus Yates, nephew of Charles Yates, came to Virginia in 1792. He was a member of the Law class at William and Mary in 1801 or 2, where he fought a duel. He later inherited all his uncle's property upon which he resided until his death. VMH 7(July 1899):91. A Richard H. Lee and a John Yates are listed in A Provisional List on pages 25 and 45 respectively. Five northern newspapers, give basically the same account: Connecticut Courant, Hartford, 12 April 1802; Boston Gazette, 15 April 1802; Columbian Centinel, Boston, 10 April 1802; Philadelphia Aurora, 8 April 1802; New York Evening Post, 3 April 1802.

³Thomas L. Preston to Andrew Reid, Jr., 22 February 1802, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):216.

President Madison survive to tell the tale along with several newspaper articles. The student's letter of the 22nd of February indicated he had given his approbation to some remonstrances by the students against the sentence of expulsion, had expressed his dislike of the procedure of the Professors in the society of the students, but had opposed and did not participate in the injuries to the college or to anyone's property. He further noted that "no business is done and a number of students have withdrawn their names."¹

Writing to a friend on the 23rd of February, a lady of Williamsburg noted that the conduct of some of the students surpassed anything she had ever heard of, that she agreed her friend's "sweet son" should quit college for a time at least, and the son would give her a more accurate account of "their wicked and sacrilegious proceedings" when he arrived home; "the visitors I am told meet to day, what may be the result of their deliberations I know not—but something I trust that may in future secure the College from the odium the late unprecedented behaviour of the students have cast upon it—"²

The Visitors did meet, perhaps several times. An extract dated 4 March 1802, provides evidence of at least one meeting:

11th Statute Be it ordained that

Any student deemed inattentive to his duties shall be in the first instance privately admonished by a Professor, should this not produce the desired amendment such student shall be reported to the President, who shall thereupon call the young-man before him & after due reprehension inform him that his Father or Guardian will be

¹Ibid.

²C[harlotte] Balfour at Elmwood to [Eliza Whiting], 23 February 1802. Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, Whiting Papers, Folder 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

written to unless there be in the course of two weeks, a satisfactory improvement in his habits. Should Parental advice prove as ineffectual as academic censures the incorrigible youth will at the expiration of a month be sent home as idlers can by no means be permitted to remain at this College.

To remove all doubts as to what constitutes idleness, every student is required to be well prepared on all the Lectures which he attends, or he must satisfy that he devotes to his studies at least six hours out of every Twenty four, independently of the time spent in the Lecture-Rooms.

A Statute to amend & explain the Statute for the wholesome government of the College—passed the 4th day of March 1802—¹

And on the other side of this extract is written and crossed through a 13th Statute; also noted is the following addition which was apparently passed:

Additional clause to the 5th Statute.

And should the perpetrators of any mischief, in order to avoid detection, deny their guilt, then it shall be the duty of the Society forthwith to suspend every Student who might have been concerned. But the said sentence of Suspension shall not take effect as to those who are willing to give any information which they may possess touching the affair in question.²

A second extract, also passed the 4th day of March 1802, is entitled "A Statute to Amend and explain the Statute for the wholesome government of the College"; and the portions which have not been marked through read as follows:

Be it further ordained that the Statute for the wholesome government of the College passed the 4th day of March 1802 shall be so construed as to authorise the Society of President & Masters or Professors to compel a Student to give Evidence on his honor against any Student accused of an offense against the Said Statute, and to make a solemn declaration of his own innocence.

¹William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, 1716-1800, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

And Let the punishment of suspension or expulsion be afflicted on the Student who refuses to give evidence on his honor when called on by the Society, and on the Student who refuses to sign a solemn declaration of his innocence.¹

The nature and numbering of the statutes considered and/or passed by the Board do not correspond to the 1792 Statutes; apparently a revised or new set of Statutes were in effect at this time. Perhaps such revisions were made at some time after the convening of the Board and the appointment of thirteen new members in 1800 following the five-year period of inactivity.

The meeting(s) of the Board of Governors and Visitors were also noted in the correspondence of another student who wrote on the 28th of March that "The visitation have been three days in session, consulting on the best means of preserving order: but their resolutions do not appear to me well calculated to produce that affect."² This could have been the previously mentioned meeting(s) or perhaps subsequent meetings since he seemed to have knowledge of the resolutions arrived at by the Visitors. Of particular interest is his evaluation of the situation:

...the notions of the young men are so entirely changed, that I believe nothing can restore good morals and rectitude of conduct, as long as one of the present race, remain here.³ I feel grateful to the College for the many benefits it has conferred on me but I should not do my duty as a man, if I were to counsel any person to send their children here; at least as long as the idea [p]revails,

¹Ibid.

²Henry S. G. Tucker to Joseph C. Cabell, 28 March 1802, Manuscripts Department, Box 2, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

³Ibid. His reference here is not certain—a student, a faculty member, a citizen of Williamsburg? His subsequent comments would seem to make it implausible that a student was the object of his reference.

that dissipation and disorderly conduct are the first requisites to the acquisition of reputation for talents!"¹

Young Tucker's account noted that he was out of town at the time the incident occurred and that he had not been able to determine with certainty "who were the members of the nefarious party. [But he did note that] Disposed as all men are to exaggeration, I do not remember...the account exaggerated in any one instance...."² He proceeded to give the following account:

Since I wrote you last, the College has been a complete scene of confusion. It has received a blow, from which I fear it will never recover. Lee and Yates fought a duel. They were called before the Society and expelled. The Students at first remonstrated. Finding their remonstrances in vain, some few,...broke the windows of every professor (Mr. Andrews excepted) together with those of the church and Chapel, tore up, in a great measure, the bibles & prayer books, and finally broke open Bouchans shop door,³ and committed every act of impropriety which they could think of."³

Young Tucker's account coincides in several respects, except for rather evident elements of exaggeration, with the account so widely publicized in the press. On the 3rd of April an article appeared in the New York Evening Post and was later published without title in the Connecticut Courant, Hartford, 12 April 1802, and in the Boston Gazette, 15 April 1802; in the Philadelphia Aurora, 8 April 1802, with editorial comment; and in the Columbian Centinel, Boston, 10 April 1802, under the title "Experiments in natural and political philosophy, in the Virginia University." Included among the statements made in the article which appeared in the New York, Hartford, and Boston papers are the following:

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

...the College of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, is completely broken up, and the system of Education there, for the present at least, entirely discontinued....For this gross violation of the rules of the College, they were both expelled, which so enraged all the rest of the Collegians, that they assembled, went to the church, broke and destroyed all the windows, cut down the pulpit, tore out all the leaves of the bible and gave them to the wind—from thence they proceeded to the house of Judge Tucker, (whose opinions have of late been so often quoted in Congress) professor of law in the University, broke all his windows, pelted his house, abused him, and then each repaired to his own home. The judge it is said has resigned his office of Professor; in consequence of the outrage, and thus dies one of the oldest and wealthiest seminaries of learning in the United States of America. These may be considered some of the blessed effects of the modern, or Jeffersonian system of religion; for party-politics, instead of science, appear long since to have been the primary objects of instruction in that University—and from that soul source have flowed many of the heretical doctrines of the present day.

The Philadelphia Aurora's account differs in two respects. First, it states that "...then they set out for Judge Tucker, the President—who had resigned in disgust"; and second, the account concludes with the editorial comment that this account "is absolutely untrue; and is simply presented to show to what extent an Anti-Republican newspaper will go to slander the southern states and the Republican party."² This editorial comment no doubt assuaged the wounds which the College and all who loved her had received from the verbiage of the other editors to the north.

¹The Connecticut Courant [Hartford], 1802, Mon., April 12, 2:4; Boston Gazette, Thursday, April 15th, 1802, XII, 13, 1:2; Columbian Centinel [Boston, Mass.], Sat., April 10, 1802, 2:1. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, 1801-1820, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Philadelphia Aurora, April 8, 1802, p. 203. Account of this article is given in a letter dated November 20, 1938, from Ferdinand C. Latrobe of Baltimore, Maryland, to Harold R. Shurtleff, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., Williamsburg, Virginia. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Faced with such adverse national publicity, the leadership of the College assumed a defensive posture; and on 5 May 1802, there appeared in the Virginia Argus a letter addressed to the Editor of the New-York Evening Post from "An Inhabitant of Williamsburg" which presented a rather complete and appropriate rebuttal to the article which had appeared initially in the New York paper. The author of this rebuttal was in all probability none other than the College's President, James Madison:

Sir,

In your paper of the 3d of this month you published two short paragraphs respecting the College of William and Mary. But short as they were the[y] contained the following errors:—

1. Instead of the College being completely broken up, it is proceeding with its usual regularity in every department; nor have the lectures been suspended for a single day.
2. Instead of all the students being concerned in the riot, which took place in consequence of the expulsion of those whom you have mentioned, not more than 5 or 6 out of 72, were concerned. A great proportion of the students, if not every student, except those who were actually engaged in the riot, viewed the transaction with abhorrence. Let it not be understood, that it is here intended to make the slightest apology for the misconduct which succeeded the sentence of expulsion; on the contrary, it merited, and it received the severest reprehension.
3. Instead of all the windows of the church being destroyed, and the pulpit cut down; the pulpit was not touched, and the glass of two or three windows only broken.
4. Instead of breaking all the windows of Judge Tucker's house, of pelting it, of abusing him, his house was not pelted, he was not abused in the slightest degree, and only two or three panes of glass broken.
5. Instead of Judge Tucker's resignation of his professorship; he is still professor, and one of the ornaments of the college.
6. Instead of the death of the college, the visitors of it have lately passed a statute, to be seen in many of the papers of Virginia, which will, no doubt, have the salutary effect of giving to the college, additional life and vigor.
7. Instead of attributing any disorders, which may have taken place, to the Jeffersonian system of religion, the college knows not what that system is. The College of William and Mary however,

boasts of Mr. Jefferson, as one of her brightest ornaments; and will continue to boast, so long as virtue, & science, and pur[e] republicanism, & the best interests of America, shall be cherished within her walls.

8. Instead of party politics being the primary object of instruction in this college; not an instance, it is believed, since the establishment of the Federal government, can be produced, in which any one professor has every [sic] attempted to influence the mind of a student, in the smallest degree, with respect to party-politics—No, sir, the politics which are here studied are those general principles of government which have their foundation in the imprescriptible Rights of Man, which the God of Nature has consecrated, which the revolution of America made known to the whole world, and which the people of this rising empire will never abandon.

9. Instead of the desertion of science, in the College of William and Mary; it is submitted, whether mathematics, natural philosophy, astronomy, ethics, laws of nations, politics, civil law, deserve to be ranked, in the estimation of the learned editor, among the sciences.

10. Instead of that foul source, from which have flowed so many evils; there exists in the College of William and Mary, a source, from which has sprung a Jefferson, a Giles, a Randolph, a Marshall, a Breckenridge, and a thousand others, whose merits the people of America will not estimate by the paragraph of a newspaper.

It is wonderful indeed, how such a crowd of errors could be condensed into so small a space, or that which the information, you have been pleased to give, occupies in your paper. Your candour, however, will, I trust, cause you to rejoice that I have offered you an opportunity of rectifying those errors, by publishing this letter.

I am, Sir,

An Inhabitant of Williamsburg

April 15, 1802¹

The articles also aroused the indignation and rallied the support of an alumnus whose letter, addressed "To the Editor of the Examiner," was published on 8 May 1802; its author, "A Late Student." His rather lengthy diatribe gives a detailed account of the disturbances, which he

¹William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary. The missing portion of error six is taken from the letter as reprinted in WMQ 5, 2d ser. (January 1925):61.

witnessed; an analysis of the spirit of the students and their behaviour, of the Faculty and the position taken by the Society; and it concludes with an expression of concern for the insults offered to religion:

The insults offered to religion demand a more serious attention. I believe it may be safely affirmed, that the authors of the offence excepted, there was not a member of College, who did not highly disapprove the conduct. But it has been suggested that the irreligion of the professors had extended its contagion to the students, and extinguished in their minds all respect for every thing sacred. How this opinion could ever have arisen, it is very difficult to conceive. As it relates to the president of college it is grossly erroneous. His conversation and the whole conduct of his life, evince the highest regard for religion. He is not a bigot. If he was, there would be reason to doubt his sincerity. The professor of law, I believe is a deist. But his high respect for the opinions & the rights of mankind, ensure from him the most inviolable respect for every religious institution. The other professors are avowed Christians. But there is no school of Divinity at College. On this subject, as on every other, the student thinks for himself. Yes! it is the peculiar felicity of this country, and the glory of William and Mary, that whilst her professors are eminently capacitated to aid the student in his enquiries, the mind is left at perfect liberty to adopt the opinions, which reason shall elect.

A Late Student.¹

That the "Inhabitant of Williamsburg" was none other than President James Madison is revealed in his letter to Thomas Jefferson dated "W^{ms}burg Ap^r. 15. 1802":

In the Evening Post of New York of the 3rd of this month, there is a most infamous acct. of our College; & what might be esteemed most strange in other Times, you are made the Author of all the Mischeifs, & of all the Evils which the College has so widely disseminated. The Paragraph betrays a Malignity of Heart, which must excite the Detestation of every one, who is enabled to judge of the abominable Falsehoods, which it contains. I have addressed to him a short Letter, which, if he does not publish, shall appear in all our Papers.²

¹The Examiner, 8 May 1802.

²J[ames] Madison to [Thomas Jefferson], 15 April 1802, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

In this letter, in the published letter of "A Late Student," and in the widely publicized articles, one is again made aware of the widespread accusations, with their concomitant adverse effects on the College and on its reputation, concerning the prevalence of deistic doctrines at William and Mary and the assignation to Jefferson, the College's most famous alumnus, as being the chief perpetrator of these doctrines. The statement in the communication of the "Late Student" is the only noted direct attribution of deism to St. George Tucker. It would seem that the observations of Isaac Coles in mid-1799 concerning the difficulty of obtaining a revived reputation for the College were still valid in 1802:

Most of our illustrious Heroes & patriots have been educated in the bosom of our much loved Mother. The names of Jefferson & Washington will alone suffice....But I am afraid, Tucker, this change will be more gradual than we should at first suppose. The tide of prejudice runs strong against it. A parcell of Dam'd fools are afraid their children will learn to Dance or game or drink &c &c. I have been half vexed all of my life with such Donkeys. They will neither listen to reason or be persuaded.

It may be prejudice, but I have ever thought, & still think that William & Mary is the best place on the continent for the education of young men. I will not say Boys.

If they do not acquire more knowledge they at least acquire more liberality & more ambition than at any other place in the world....

The spirit of skepticism which so much prevailed & which every student acquired as soon as he touched the threshold of the college is certainly the first step towards knowledge; it puts the mind in a proper state not only to receive, but also to receive correctly. That it leads to Deism, atheism &c I will acknowledge, but on the same grounds we may object to reason. Skepticism indeed only gives it the reins.¹

"William and Mary was the hot-bed of the Republican party, with its doctrines of freedom in thought and government, which ran into the extreme

¹I. A. Coles to Henry St. George Tucker, 20 July 1799, WMQ 8, 1st ser. (January 1900):158-159.

of skepticism with many";¹ and Jefferson, as President of the United States, was at the head of the Republican party and was a most prominent political target. He had also been the principal author of the doctrine of separation of church and state. These facts notwithstanding, prejudices other than political were imbedded in the fabric of the culture of Virginia; for the College and its leadership represented to the grassroots of Virginian society an institution more closely allied with the Disestablished Church (and the power and wealth it represented) and the Crown of England (and the benefits this close association represented, including even the name of the institution) than any other surviving institution in the Commonwealth, perhaps in the nation. And the conflict with Britain, the struggle for independence, was in the very recent past, a reality not even two decades removed from the concerns of the present; and the College and its leadership did have tremendous challenges to meet in order to restore the reputation of the College, perhaps even to survive. Could they, or perhaps more important, would they meet these challenges?

On the same day that Madison wrote his letter to Jefferson and to the editor of the New York Evening Post, young Thomas Preston wrote to his friend, Andrew Reid, noting that dissipation had greatly disappeared since the egression of about half of the students, an exodus which had followed the expulsion of the two students; that the turbulence of spirit was now perfectly at rest; and that every duty peculiar to the situation of a student was "again attended with the utmost cheer-

¹Ibid., Note 1, p. 159.

fulness. With this restoration of peace and harmony I trust the reputation of the college will be returned and the injury which all parties may have sustained will be forgotten."¹ He further indicated that he would return to Washington Academy in the summer to study law, a study which would not require the assistance of "an apparatus or library except such as I shall take with me [and]...the instructions of the President...would have no weight...as I should not stand in need of them."² Apparently the reputation of Madison together with the scientific apparatus and the library of the College³ were his reasons for having come to William and Mary initially; and again we see Madison as fulfilling a leadership role both as President and, even more so perhaps, as a Professor of the College.

¹Thomas Preston to Andrew Reid, 15 April 1802, WMQ 8, 1st ser. (April 1900):217.

²Ibid.

³John Melville Jennings, in his work, The Library of The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1693-1793 (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), notes that the library, at this time, was the second largest academic repository of books in America; and despite the destruction of its original holdings in the fire of 1705, its holdings numbered approximately four thousand volumes. (Harvard's collection at this time numbered approximately twelve thousand volumes [Jennings, p. 79].) Just what these four thousand volumes were is, for the most part, not known today; Jennings notes that at least ninety per cent are not known even by title (p. ix). However, nearly all of those visitors or commentators who visited the College during the last two decades of the eighteenth century were impressed by the library: Chastellux, in 1782, noted that "The beauty of the building is surpassed by the richness of the library..."; Jedediah Morse, in 1786, noted that "their Library, like ours, is well stocked with Ancient Authors"; Edmund Randolph, in 1792, noted William and Mary's "admirable library, [as] containing the most rare gems of ancient learning"; and La Rochefoucauld, in 1796, stated that the College had a library well enough furnished with classical books but lacking the best in modern books (Jennings, pp. 79-80).

The Board of Governors and Visitors apparently took steps to see that the validity of young Preston's description of the academic milieu at the College and the reputation of the College as well would be sustained and even improved. At a meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors, which probably was held at the time of the regular annual meeting on or about the Fourth of July, regulations relating, it would appear, to Statute XI of the 1792 Statutes were passed and were subsequently published in the Richmond Examiner under the date of 23 July 1802.¹ The published regulations read as follows:

Be it ordained by the Governors and the visitors of William and Mary College, that there be, in addition to the public examination on the fourth day of July, a similar one on the second Tuesday in February in each year, and a meeting of the visitors on the same day.

That any Student who shall be absent from a public examination or exercise, unless in case of sickness, shall not be considered as a student.

Let every student who shall fail to perform any of the duties required of him, for the first instance of such failure, be admonished or censured, and after the second failure, he shall no longer be considered as a student.

Let every student, after the second examination in the first year of his attendance, obtain a vote of approbation of his attention to his studies, and of his moral demeanor, from the President and Masters or Professors, a copy of which shall be furnished such student, if required, and if such vote of approbation shall not be obtained, he shall no longer be continued a student.

No person shall be permitted to continue a student, after the end of the second year of his attendance, unless he shall, at the end of the second year or before, obtain the Degree of Bachelor of Arts; provided, that at the end of such second year the President and Masters or Professors may permit such student to attend Lectures, on the usual terms, if they shall be of opinion his attention and moral demeanor shall deserve such permission.

No Professor shall absent himself from College during the terms prescribed for lecturing, or attendance on schools; nor at the time of public examination, or exercises, and every Professor is hereby required, respectively, to examine the students of his class at every such public examination, and every Lecture.

¹WMQ 16, 1st ser.(October 1900):215.

Let the President and Masters or Professors be enjoined strictly to execute this statute and all others heretofore made for the government of the College.

A copy, Teste, William Russell, C. G.¹

It would appear that both the Board of Governors and Visitors and the Society have assumed a strong leadership role and have resolved a number of problems in a manner that should benefit the College, the students, and the Society; and away with the myth that President Madison was never able to administer the sentence of expulsion to a single student while President of the College of William and Mary. The question must be raised, however, as to the effects these regulations might have on the political aspirations of Professor Andrews and his previously noted absenteeism from the College during the regular sessions and on the judicial responsibilities of Professor Tucker as a Judge of the Supreme Court of Virginia and the lengthy absenteeism required, as previously noted, in the execution of the responsibilities incumbent upon one holding this high office. Just how well were the regulations relating to absences from the College at certain specified times received by these two gentlemen? On the basis of all noted evidence, President Madison did not absent himself from the College during the time the College was in session and attended to his duties as Bishop of the Diocese of Virginia during the vacation period in August and September; he repeatedly placed the College and the attendant responsibilities foremost in the conduct of his affairs rather than the conduct of his duties as Bishop, although he probably viewed the College as being very much a part of his responsibilities as head of the Church. There was

¹Ibid., pp. 215-216.

precedent for this, however; had not the President of the College of William and Mary in Virginia also been a chief emissary of the Church of England in America, the now Disestablished Church of which he was the head?

It is also noted that in the exercise of their renewed leadership role the Board of Governors and Visitors, at some point during their revived active interest this year, elected to their membership one who was later to become President of the United States, James Monroe of Middlesex County; and additional evidence of a revived academic leadership on the part of the Society is noted in the fact that the College awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree to two students this year, Chapman Johnson and Benj[amin] Watkins Leigh, the first degrees to be awarded since 1799.¹ Of these two young men, Henry St. George Tucker had written Joseph Cabell on March 28: "They are indeed two fine young men. If I am not mistaken, from present appearances, the former [Leigh] will quickly lose that vanity which has ever been his greatest enemy. Believe me Cabell, he has a goodness of heart which ought, which must make him estimable."²

On Wednesday, 14 July, in a communication published in the Virginia Argus, the College received a much needed commendation and published words of praise from "A By-stander" who, it is reasonable to conjecture, could have been President Madison himself. The communication concerned the celebration of the "late anniversary of American independence" at Williamsburg. After commending the performance of the

¹Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

²Henry St. George Tucker to Joseph Cabell, 28 March 1802, Manuscripts Department, Box 2, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

Militia under "the orders of capt. Waller," the communique gave a summary of each of the speeches of four young orators from William and Mary and concluded with these words of high praise: "From the talents and industry of these young gentlemen society has much to hope, and our country much to expect. The numerous audience assembled...went to their respective houses highly gratified and concluded the day in a manner suitable to the importance of the occasion."¹ The oration summaries are perhaps worth noting. They not only give evidence of the concerns of the students and of the citizenry in general but of the competence of William and Mary students as well. In the order of their presentations, Francis Carr of Albemarle "traced with historical accuracy, the causes which drove us to a separation from the mother country";² Roger Jones of Petersburg "warmly advocated a more extended right of suffrage than our laws permit";³ Archer of Norfolk "made a masterly enquiry into the justice and policy of capital punishments";⁴ and Lindsay of Norfolk "concluded the day with a learned, and elegant dissertation on a subject materially interesting to our country and the world; he argued that the manners of a people depended entirely upon their laws and their government."⁵ And again we see Madison exercising a leadership role in publicly presenting to the people of Virginia the positive aspects of the College and its students.

¹William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

A paucity of evidence relating to the costs incident to receiving an education at William and Mary has been noted in the research; and on occasion, evidence of Madison's concern for individual students has been noted. Such evidence is contained in two letters written by Madison to George Logan of Philadelphia. In the first letter, written on 18 July 1802, Madison noted that young Logan¹ would be returning home as soon as the lectures ended:

I hope he will have a safe—Journey, & show to his good parents that their Expectations have not been altogether disappointed.

I put into his hands 50 Doll. which appeared sufficient for the Expenses of the Journey—; I will pay 5 Doll. for his Washing Woman, & about one month's Board, or 11 D. Albanus informs me that he purchased some books here; he did not consult me respecting them, but the Amount shall be paid.²

Madison also indicated he was sending a copy of an oration delivered on July 4th which, though inferior to many previous orations, would serve as a source of inspiration for young Logan.³ In the second letter, written on 16 December 1802, following young Logan's return to William and Mary, Madison assured the father that he would do everything possible "to render his [young Logan's] continuance here both agreeable & useful"⁴ and would administer any necessary admonition in the manner of a parent. However, as had been the case the preceding December, he

¹A. W. C. Logan is listed as attending William and Mary in 1803. A Provisional List, p. 26. Evidence in Madison's previously noted letter to Jefferson on 16 December 1801, would indicate that Albanus [?] Logan entered William and Mary either in December 1801 or early in 1802.

²J[ames] Madison to Dr. Logan, 18 July 1802, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

⁴J[ames] Madison to [Dr. Logan], 16 December 1802, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

could not take him into his home; but he had "fixed him in a manner which is very convenient & proper, & where he will always be within my View."¹ Madison then indicated that Board was "33½ Dols." and was paid quarterly in advance; his accommodations, "20 Dols. more"; the fees to each Professor were "15 Dols., and I propose that he should attend two schools, Viz. Mathematics, & that of Moral & Natural Philosophy—I would recommend that the supply for Books money, should not exceed 2 or 3 Dollars p.^r month."² Madison concluded his letter by thanking him for his "Pamphlet on the necessity of promoting Agriculture &c—and also for enclosing the Presidents Message which I have read with enjoyable satisfaction."³ It is doubtful that this was the usual procedure for notification and collection of fees; if so, it is no wonder the College had financial difficulties; this parent, at least, was quoted the costs regarding his son's education after the son's arrival on campus. On the other hand, this could have been Madison's diplomatic way of reminding the father of the costs involved and suggesting (or requesting?) payment.

During the time that the students had been creating disciplinary problems and leaving the College and the Board had been assuming its proper role for a change, President Madison had been involved in the consideration of a matter which began at least as early as 30 December 1801—the presidency of Transylvania University. In a letter of that

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

date is noted Madison's possible consideration of the presidency of this institution: "We have in this place an University in a very flourishing condition....We have, too, a distant hope of getting Mr. Madison from William & Mary to take the management of our Seminary."¹ This was not the first attempt of Transylvania University, a Presbyterian seminary, to acquire some of William and Mary's resources, although many of the sons of Kentucky were educated at the College.² In July 1787, the Board of Trustees petitioned the General Assembly of Virginia for that portion of "the one sixth part of all legal [surveyors] fees"³ derived from within their district to be paid to Transylvania University instead of the University of William and Mary, stating that the University of William and Mary was "a Seminary which we greatly respect but from which the Inhabitants of Kentucky are too remote to derive any immediate advantage."⁴ They further argued that since the Legislature had repeatedly indicated a "benevolent disposition" toward providing education within the district, the requested fees should be directed to the use and support of Transylvania University. In Madison's case, the Trustees felt that his acceptance of the presidency of Transylvania

¹Henry Clay to Judge Francis T. Brooke, 30 December 1801, James M. Owens Collection, Box 7, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²E. G. Swem notes that "at least twenty-seven" students from Kentucky were in attendance at William and Mary during the period before 1861. E. G. Swem, Kentuckian at William and Mary College Before 1861 with a Sketch of the College Before That Date; A bound reprint from The Filson Club History Quarterly, July 1949, p. 5.

³"Petition of Transylvania Seminary," WMQ 22, 1st ser.(April 1914):264.

⁴Ibid.

University would be the impetus needed in order for the University to assume a position of eminence:

...the impulse which would be given to the University by the labours of Mr. Madison, combined with those of the present valuable professors, would soon place it in a state of prosperity, which by attracting the attention of our Atlantic breth'ren would soon render them tributary to us, instead of¹ being forced to send our youth abroad to complete their education.

Jefferson had used a similar argument to support the organizational and curricular revisions envisioned as being necessary to make William and Mary a University in 1779. The Trustees of Transylvania University offered Madison one thousand dollars a year, having gained, they stated, the complete approbation of the incumbent president and professors of the college regarding the offer. They proposed to increase tuition to twenty dollars in the event he accepted; and they had secured a number of subscribers who pledged their support and guaranteed the proposed salary, regardless of enrollment and tuition, for a period of five years, "to commence from the day that Mr. Madison begins his presidency."²

Why President Madison did not accept this offer is not known. Perhaps the offered remuneration was too low, or possibly the College Visitors increased his remuneration at William and Mary. Perhaps the active interest and support of the Board of Governors and Visitors in the affairs of William and Mary had rekindled a spark of hope and vitality that he needed; and the exigencies of the problems at William and

¹"To the Trustees of the Transylvania University," Lexington, Kentucky, 1802. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid., April 1802.

Mary at this time probably forced Madison to put consideration of this presidency in the background and to provide for the College the leadership which the College needed in order to survive the current crisis. Apparently Madison did invest in an immense tract of land in Kentucky. After having made a "tour of speculation to East Kentucky...[he] entered up over 150,000 acres of land in the counties of Lawrence, Martin, Floyd, and Pike on the Big Sandy River, all of which are duly entered and recorded in the Land Office at Fra[n]kfort, Ky."¹ In his will Madison left to his two surviving children, "Jon [James] Catesby, and Susan Randolph all the land which I hold, to b[e] equally divided between them";² but his specific holdings are not identified within the context of the will. If these investments were made at this time, Madison probably included these areas in Kentucky in his travels during the vacation period at the College this year.

At the commencement of the fall term, the leadership exhibited by Madison and by the Board in coping with the crisis created by the students that winter and magnified by the press that spring was reflected in the enrollment at the College. A student wrote to a friend in Richmond that the College "was filling as fast as usual, at the commencement of a course";³ and Madison corroborated this in a letter to

¹"Memorandum for My Sons and Their Children, Written in 1899," pp. 10 and 12. James M. Owens Collection, Folder 14, Box 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²"Will of Bishop James Madison of Virginia, 8 January 1812 (Contributed by Professor E. M. Violette, University of Louisiana)," VMH 38 (October 1930):373.

³A letter from an unknown student to a friend in Richmond, 7 November 1802. From the Virginia Argus, 17 November 1802. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

his cousin, James Madison, on October 29th: "It has been said, Gen^l Dearborn intends to send his Son to our College; if so, the sooner the better on acct of the class, which he w^d join—We are filling more rapidly than I expected."¹

The student's letter to his friend in Richmond also addressed the question of the general condition of the College at this time; the health of the College, in his opinion, was good:

...I have no doubt of the good effects of the new system of collegiate government; it is sufficiently liberal; and at the same time imposes such salutary restrictions, as to ensure the strictest propriety of conduct, I believe, notwithstanding the misfortunes of last session, that our alma mater has gained more than she has lost. If in her worst hours, she has presented the republic with such characters as a Cabell, a Johnson, a Leigh, and many others who are fresh in our recollection; what may we not expect, when extensive

¹J[ames] Madison to James Madison, 29 October 1802, James M. Owens Collection, Box 4, Folder 6, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary. Young Henry Alexander Scammel Dearborn of Exeter, New Hampshire, did come to William and Mary and apparently made many good friends; for it is noted that he maintained a friendly correspondence with many classmates in Virginia throughout his life. WMQ 17, 1st ser.(October 1908):144. Herein it is also stated that General Henry Alexander Scammel Dearborn graduated at William and Mary in 1803. This is noted as his year of attendance in A Provisional List, page 15; but no titled graduates are indicated for 1803 (Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153). In this same letter to his cousin (29 October 1802), Madison indicated that his son, James Catesby, was to enter the College at Philadelphia. Madison wrote of his son, in a manner both objective and fatherly: "I have desired my son James Catesby, who is passing on to Phil.^a to attend the medical Lectures there, to pay his Respects to you, if Circumstance should permit him to spend a Day in Washington. His excessive Diffidence gives him a very awkward Demeanor; but he does not want an usual Portion of Understanding." Young James Catesby had undoubtedly had some education at William and Mary; however, his name is not included among the available records for the grammar school nor the College for this period. He did complete the medical studies at Philadelphia, became a doctor, practiced at Roanoke in Botetourt County, Virginia, and died, unmarried, at an advanced age. Charles Lewis Scott, "A Sketch of my own immediate Family," p. 5, James M. Owens Collection, Folder 14, Box 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

and enlightened plan of instruction is fortified by regulations, the necessity, and the propriety of which are instantly seen and acknowledged by every student.

Our college is now the emblem of a well-regulated family. Everybody sees his duty, and knows that a parental authority will enforce that duty. Inshort, I hope, and I trust my expectations will not be disappointed, that an ardour for improvement a love for this venerated institution, and a noble spirit of dignified obedience to laws the most essential to our happiness, will not only anticipate compulsion; but render William & Mary still more distinguished for the scientific acquirements, as well as for the virtue and the patriotism of her sons.¹

It would appear that the President and the Faculty and the Board of Governors and Visitors had provided excellent leadership for the College during a rather difficult period and that the College perhaps had gained more than she had lost. In spite of these positive signs, however, Madison's letter to his cousin, James Madison, on October 29th, expressed concerns which could adversely affect the College at this time in the minds of the public, the malignings in the press of the College's most famous alumnus, Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States. Madison was even more keenly conscious of the abuse at this time because it directly involved, in part, the disputed settlement of a financial matter between Jefferson and Madison's uncle, Gabriel Jones,² a loan made by Jones to Jefferson in 1773.³ The details of this transaction became public knowledge in an article (which included other elements of personal slander against Jefferson) written by James Callender which

¹A Letter from an unknown student, 7 November 1802. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²James M. Owens Collection, Box 9, Manuscript Collections, College of William and Mary.

³Paul Leicester Ford, ed., The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 10 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1892-1899), 2:364.

appeared in the Recorder on 8 December 1802;¹ and the matter subsequently served as the basis for a very bitter attack on Jefferson, an attack which continued for several months.² Madison noted in his letter to his cousin:

A Paragraph in Davis's Paper of the 27th last—has just been shown to me, in which it is asserted, that I had Declared, Mr. Jefferson had deceived me, with Respect to the money sent to Calender. ...neither Respect for myself, nor the sincere Regard which I have for Mr. Jefferson will permit me to let the assertion pass uncontradicted. I will therefore beg the Favour of you whenever an opportunity offers to mention to the President that the whole story is an abominable Falsity, that it has not even the shadow of Foundation; & that his letter to the Miscreant instead making upon me the Impression alleged appraised perfect coincidence with the information I received from him....

How far is this intolerable abuse of the first magistrate of a nation to be carried? Doth not the dignity of the nation require, that such unprincipled licentiousness should be arrested? Hath the world ever produced an Instance of such indecent, such debasing calumnies? The Pr. may find it difficult to decide between his Ideas of the License of the Press, & what his own feelings may require; but I—would not suffer the Nation to be insulted, in my Person. There cannot be a real Friend to Republicanism who is not indignant as the situation to which he sees the chief magistrate reduced.—Shall we have public opinion to correct the Evil? Public Opinion will become debauched by [?] these calumnies, by the combined Insults which the Magistrates of our Country received by the perpetual contempt which is cast upon republican Principles.—What then is to be done? Put the law, which each state has already enacted to defend the dearest right of every Individual, into Effect; & that, without Delay. This is my Idea; the Preservation of

¹James Callender, "A Little More Honest Mischief; or, The President Again." Recorder, 8 December 1802. James M. Owens Collection, Box 5, Folder 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Recorder, 4 June 1803; National Intelligences, 1 July 1803; James Phillips to Gabriel Jones, 20 July 1803; A Broadside signed "Veritas," later acknowledged by Phillip Grymes as having been written by him, 20 July 1803; A thirty-two page pamphlet, "A Refutation of the Charges Made By a Writer Under the Signature of 'Veritas,' Against the Character of Gabriel Jones—The Lately Acknowledged Author Being the Honorable Philip Grymes, Member of the Council of State. In which every charge or insinuation against him in that libel is fully and clearly refuted." (Winchester, Virginia: Richard Bowen, 1803). James M. Owens Collection, Box 5, Folder 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

republican Principles & of good morals; Respect for legitimate government & above all, the Dignity, the Honour, & the Glory of the Nation, appear to me in this Crisis to demand such a decision. I know the superiority of your Judgment in these matters but I confess I have seldom felt tho it is not often I see these Papers, Now Indignation [illegible] both as a Citizen of America & as a Friend to the present Administration.¹

The expressions of concern and apparent frustration evidenced by Madison in this letter were undoubtedly even more intense following the appearance of Callender's article in December which, as noted, contained strong elements of personal slander as well as political slander; however, President Madison, the College, and Jefferson would undoubtedly survive the slanderous verbiage of Jefferson's political enemies; and Jefferson would continue to be the College's most illustrious alumnus, though perhaps not always its most loyal alumnus.

The continued effectiveness of the leadership of the College is noted early in 1803. One student wrote that the reputation of the College was "rising. Never has been seen greater order, industry and economy among the students than at this time. The number of whom is between 60 or 65."² The social life continued to be "one of...[the College's] strong features. The ladies...(divested of some town airs) agreeable enough and much disposed to sociability."³ And on February 5th a new

¹J[ames] Madison to James Madison, 29 October 1802, James M. Owens Collection, Box 4, Folder 6, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Thomas L. Preston to Andrew Reid, Jr., 9 January 1803, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):218. Mary Goodwin's Historical Notes indicates the number of students for 1802-1803 to be 59.

³Ibid., Preston to Reid.

professor joined the Faculty, L. H. Girardin,¹ a gentleman who had been educated in France; had studied law in Paris, entering the profession at the time of the revolution when the parliamentary courts were suppressed and the profession of law offered little encouragement; had cultivated literature, including poetry; and had published some fugitive pieces. When his speeches and writings revealed him to be a friend to rational liberty and the terrors of the Robespierrean reign proved to be ineffective in silencing him, he had found himself facing the dagger of assassination. He then joined the navy, eventually sought asylum in America, and now had found employment at the College of William and Mary "in the laborious and useful profession of instructor of youth."²

Notice of Girardin's appointment was published by order of the President and Professors and appeared in the Virginia Argus on February 12th:

Mr. L. H. Girardin is appointed, in this College, Teacher of the Modern Languages, and Lecturer in Geography and Civil History.

The acknowledged respectability of Mr. Girardin, both on account of his literary acquirements, and unexceptional moral character, renders the opportunity which is now presented, of being well instructed in those useful branches of knowledge, of much importance to the youth; and it is hoped that many will avail themselves of it. The appointment may also be considered as promising a valuable accession to those sources of improvement which the College previously afforded [*italics the author's*].

The published notice of Girardin's appointment would seem to indicate that Professor Bellini had not been actively engaged in teaching Romance

¹Virginia Argus, 12 February 1803, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(April 1925):121.

²"L. H. Girardin," WMQ 3, 2nd ser.(January 1923):50-51.

³Virginia Argus, 12 February 1803.

Languages for some time, probably not since 1800 when mention of his teaching, as previously noted, was made in a student's correspondence. Jefferson, who was his friend, last wrote to him, according to available evidence, on 26 April 1799. In this letter it is noted that Bellini's state of health was not good. Bellini had even proffered to Jefferson the portrait of his recently deceased wife; and in responding, Jefferson suggested Bellini keep the portrait with him:

...till you go to rejoin the original. Then, if I am living, let it dwell with me till I also can join you all. Let it come as a testamentary donation....

I hope you will have better health, and still many years of life to enjoy it. I mean if you desire it; for I feel myself how possible it is that we may cease to desire to live. Every course of life doubtless has it's difficulties; but in the stormy ocean of public life the billows are more furious, the blasts more deadly than those which assail the bark moored in a retired port. The world judges differently, and misjudges as is frequent....

May your days be just as many as yourself would wish them; but filled with health & the full enjoyment of those faculties which rendered your life a happiness to yourself & precious to your friends; among whom continue to esteem one who is with unalterable sentiments of affectionate attachment, my dear Sir,

Your sincere friend & servant¹

Subsequent correspondence concerned with the settlement of Professor Bellini's estate—commencing 22 March 1805, and concluding 1 August 1817, apparently, and involving the Tuscan Government; the Consul of the United States at Leghorn; Thomas Jefferson, initially as President of the United States and later as a friend of Bellini; Professor John Bracken of William and Mary, the administrator of Bellini's estate; and Robert Saunders of Williamsburg—would indicate that Bellini's death, as reported to his two sisters in Florence, occurred

¹Thomas Jefferson to [Charles Bellini], 26 April 1799, WMQ 5, 2nd ser. (January 1925):12-13.

in June 1804 or at some time prior to this date.¹ It would appear that at the time of his death, the College Treasurer, Robert Andrews, had impounded all of Bellini's household furniture to satisfy the balance due the College on the purchase of two slaves;² that during most of this time Professor Bracken had use of the proceeds from the estate;³ that during this period Professor Bellini's sisters had died, in 1808 and 1813 respectively;⁴ and that final settlement of the estate, in the amount of "635 Dollars, 48 cents, was deposited in the bank of Virginia in Richmond,⁵ payable to "Giovan Batista Vancelli an Ecclesiastic of Florence her [Luisa, the sister who died in 1813] universal heir and legatory."⁶ Professor Bracken's role in this matter, to the extent that it was generally known, could not possibly have served to be other than a detriment to the reputation of the College—probably over a period of years.

Since the College had a Chair of Romance Languages, it was important that this position be filled; and one could assume that it had

¹Secretary's Office of the Government, Leghorn, to Thomas Appleton, 21 March 1805, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):14.

²Ro[bert] Saunders to Thomas Jefferson, 20 February 1816, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):21.

³Th[omas] Jefferson to [Robert Saunders], 25 December 1815, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):20.

⁴Ibid., p. 19.

⁵Ro[bert] Saunders to Thomas Jefferson, 20 February 1816, and Th[omas] Jefferson to [—], 1 August 1817, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):23, 28.

⁶Th[omas] Jefferson to [Robert Saunders], 25 December 1815, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):19.

been evident for some time that Bellini was not able to discharge the responsibilities of this position. The provision of a full complement of Faculty, therefore, was a leadership responsibility Madison and the Board needed both to assume and to expedite. This they had now accomplished, and student enrollments with Professor Girardin apparently followed the public notice rather quickly. On March 5th President Madison wrote John Nivison regarding one young scholar:

...our little Friend William is perfectly content & seems to feel himself quite at Home....Besides the Duties of the Grammar School, in which he is reading Ovid & attending to Arithmetic, I have entered him with Mr. Girardin, who is an excellent Teacher of French & Geography. In the Evening, we devote as much Time as he can spare to ancient History. I shall take care not to overburthen him, but I never met with a Youth,¹ who was so prompt & willing to enter upon whatever is recommended.

With the approach of spring, the apparent even tenor of life at the College was once again disrupted by student behaviour; and the ever-present responsibility of coping with student discipline had to be faced by the Faculty and the President. On March 31st the Society met to act on a necessary but distressing disciplinary matter:

Pursuant to the Statute entitled "A Statute for the wholesome government of the College," publication is hereby made, that the following students, viz., William Chapman, James Breckenridge, James B. Gilmer, and Thomas Preston have been expelled from this College, on account of a late duel, in which the first two mentioned were concerned as principles, and the other two as seconds.

By order of the President and Professors.²

Their decision became public knowledge on April 9th. In accordance with their decisions and those of the Board of Governors and Visitors, they

¹Bishop James Madison to John Nivison, 5 March 1803, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²The Examiner, 9 April 1803, WMQ 16, 1st ser.(July 1907):126.

were enforcing the regulations deemed to be necessary just a year earlier for the general welfare of the College.

By mid-April, however, they had another problem which was made public on April 15th, the exhumation of a corpse, reputedly, by some students of the College.¹ On the 30th an extract of a letter from a "Gentleman at Williamsburg, dated April 19," was published in the Virginia Argus.² This "Gentleman at Williamsburg" was, in all probability, President Madison himself, exercising the leadership needed to maintain, if possible, the reviving reputation of the College:

I have observed, in two of the late Norfolk Papers, some strictures upon the Students of William and Mary, which ought not to pass unnoticed. I do not doubt the benevolent views of the writer; nor will I refuse to him the tribute, which is due for his candour. But there cannot be a greater injustice, than an indiscriminate confusion of the many with the few. If this obvious and necessary principle had been attended to, that odium which may attach to the College, in consequence of the suggestions of those publications, would have been seen by every liberal mind, not to have been merited. Besides, those publications do not convey accurate information. Whether any of the Students were really concerned in taking up the corpse is not known. But even admitting this to be the fact, their views may have been very different from those, which have been insinuated. Whoever were concerned might, possibly, have been influenced by the desire of acquiring some information in Asteology. I do not know that this was the case; but it is certain, similar cases have frequently occurred in every part of the world, without exciting any extraordinary abhorrence. It is certain, also, that no indecency was offered to the corpse; that it was [not?] taken from the Church Yard, but from the Burying Ground of the Lunatic Hospital, nor was it the corpse of a female. It was carried to a remote and uninhabited house, and there left; what were the motives which led to an action of this kind, it is difficult to conceive, unless we admit that the desire of being acquainted with the subject already mentioned has its operation. The body had been inhumated above eighteen months.

¹Norfolk Herald, 15 April 1803, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Virginia Argus, 30 April 1803, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

I am very far from wishing to palliate this act, nor have I any doubt, but the magistracy of this place will inflict a deserved punishment, whenever it is ascertained who the persons were. The College I know, has taken steps to prevent any species of disorder or licentiousness of conduct, among the students; and I have been well informed that in future, any student, who will not strictly conform to the regulations of the College, will be immediately sent home. He will not be permitted to continue one hour a student, after manifesting a spirit of disobedience.

But the point which particularly deserves attention, is, the general censure in which the whole body of the students is involved. This is doing to the College an injustice, which ought not to be admitted. The number at College, during the present term, has been between 50 and 60. Of this number there have been a few who have yielded to those dreadful opinions, which can seem only to disseminate misery in the midst of society; and which, unfortunately for virtue and real happiness, are too generally fostered and patronized by parents themselves. But, the great proportion of the students are distinguished for their amiable and correct manners; and, I will venture to presage, ¹that America will find among them, some of her brightest ornaments.

The statement, "I have been well informed that in future, any student, who will not strictly conform to the regulations of the College,...,"² was, in all probability, Madison's way of quickly informing the public of the College's intent to support its regulations. The Society was doing a good job of providing a firm leadership for the College at this time.

Whether the Board of Governors and Visitors had met during this time is not known. In any event, it is probable that they met at the regular time on July 4th; for James Semple of Williamsburg was elected to the Board in 1803,³ and on July 14th President Madison sent a young man, Robert, home a few days before the end of the term because "some

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³A Provisional List, p. 55.

very unfortunate circumstances at the College had determined the society to put a stop to the usual Exhibitions on the 4th of July. I apprehended, in reality, from the ungovernable Disposition, which a few had manifested, & the consequent Measures, which the society would be compelled to adopt, a Scene of Disorder, from which I was solicitous Robert should be remote as possible."¹ He further noted that it gave him great consolation to assure every friend of the College that "Regulations are now adopted, which cannot fail to preserve the more perfect order & attention to study. They are such as I have long wished to see established, & I pledge myself for the strict Enforcement of them.—You will see some of them in the public Papers."² As previously noted, some Statutes of the College dated 23 July 1802,³ were published in The Examiner in 1803.⁴ This was, perhaps, the first public announcement of these statutes. One could conjecture, with a marked degree of certainty, that the Board actively supported the decisions of the Society and was assuming a proper leadership posture in the conduct of the affairs of the College.

Once again the individual care and concern which Madison bestowed upon his young charges is noted in his correspondence. Continuing his letter of July 14th, Madison wrote that he considered young

¹Bishop James Madison to [—], 14 July 1803, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³WMQ 16, 1st ser.(October 1907):215-216.

⁴These same Statutes appear in The Examiner for Saturday, 13 August 1803, and are identified as "A copy, Teste, William Russell c.g."; however, the date indicated is "July, 23." No year is indicated.

Robert to be truly amiable and capable of scientific acquirement, but he was more mercurial than one would suspect; his purported interest in "Physick," should the father indulge him in selecting a profession, might be beneficial during another year's attendance, but "I am inclined to think your original Disposition of him [and this is not indicated] the most advisable."¹ He did add, however, that Judge Prentis would receive the young man into his family; and he could certainly count on his own "friendly offices."² Such a concern for the individual student was a responsibility attendant upon the office of the President at this time; and Madison manifested a strong leadership posture in the exercise of this responsibility.

An examination of Madison's correspondence and activities during the remaining months of 1803 reveals a new spirit, a renewed enthusiasm. It would seem that he had indeed resolved the problems of the preceding months in a manner which he had long desired and had succeeded in obtaining the adoption of regulations which could not fail to preserve order and direct the proper attention of the student to study. And in addition to his responsibilities directly associated with the College, he found time to assume other responsibilities for which he was highly qualified and which were politically important to the Commonwealth. He, along with two other gentlemen, had been appointed by the assembly "to collect all necessary information relative to the Claim, which Maryland

¹Bishop James Madison to [—], 14 July 1803, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

has of late seriously revived upon a part of the Territory of Virginia";¹ and in June he had written to Jefferson regarding certain papers which dealt with the Virginia-Maryland boundary.² (Years earlier, in 1779, he and Professor Andrews had represented Virginia in settling the boundary controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, Pennsylvania's three representatives and Virginia's two having agreed on a line that was the extension of the Mason and Dixon for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania and a meridian drawn from the western boundary to the northern limit of Pennsylvania "forever" the western boundary.³) On November 14th he wrote to his cousin, James Madison, concerning his investigations into the grounds of Maryland's pretensions;⁴ and by December 11th, he advised his cousin that he had framed the report, in which he had demonstrated the invalidity of the pretensions of Maryland to a part of Virginia, and had forwarded the report to Richmond to the General Assembly.⁵

This was not all that he had been doing. Following the close of the second term of school at the end of July, he had taken a long journey "to the Guyandot and its neighborhood, for the purpose of making

¹[Madison] to [Jefferson], 13 June 1803, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³"The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Vol. 1," in Collections of the Virginia Historical Society (Richmond: The Virginia Historical Society, 1883), 3:22-23.

⁴Calender of the Correspondence of James Madison, Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State, No. 4, March 1894. (Washington: Department of State, 1894):498.

⁵Ibid.

some inquiries and arrangements respecting my lands there....[and, responding to his everpresent inquisitive nature,] I was not inattentive to the many curious phenomena, which that County presents...[including] those Fortifications and Mounds which have excited so much surprize."¹ As evidenced in a letter to James Breckenridge of "Fincastle, Boutetourt Cy," on October 2nd,² and in a later communication to Benjamin Smith Barton of Philadelphia, a fellow member of the American Philosophical Society, dated December 16th,³ he had concluded that the supposed fortifications were actually Indian burial mounds; and he included, particularly in his letter to Barton, details of his observations and reasoning which led to this conclusion.

To another fellow philosopher, Benjamin Rush, also of Philadelphia, he communicated some empirical observations with regard to treatment for insane persons.⁴ Madison had been President of the Directors of the State Hospital for Insane Persons, located in Williamsburg, for many years; and on October 26th, he wrote that he had "very lately caused a proper and convenient cold bath to be constructed, in which it is proposed to plunge the patients of the hospital, especially such as

¹J[ames] Madison to James Breckenridge, 2 October 1803, "A Description of the Remains of the Mound Builders, Written in 1803," [published in The Journal of American History, 1918, 12:536-538]. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³James Madison to B. S. Barton, M.D., 16 December 1803, [published in American Philosophical Society Transactions, 6:132-142]. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴J[ames] Madison to [Dr. Benjamin Rush], 26 October 1803, Letter L. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

are attended with paroxysms of fury and violence, until they shall be fit subjects for the resusciative process."¹ He noted that the patient is carried blindfolded to the bath; fixed to a chair which is raised by pulleys over the bath; carried suddenly to the bottom, about six feet, by a weight; drawn up quickly; and then the whole process is repeated two or three times to the same person. The alarm or fright experienced appeared to be highly beneficial; "it is surprising to see what calmness, what complacency, the experiment produces immediately, even in the most violent....[and a subsequent] threat from the keeper of submersion to one who has undergone the operation, will instantly quiet the most unruly."² After noting that he had proceeded no further in his experiments and after citing observed effects of shocks by accident on "mad" persons, he concluded that an enlightened physician may or may not "sanction by approbation the idea I have just mentioned...but it appears to me we ought to profit from...and avail ourselves of discoveries...provided we are supported by the prospect of a probability of success."³

One additional communication concerned with scientific observations (also written in October before Madison became submerged in the commencement of another school term) was directed to Barton and concerned a specimen of crystallization "thrown up by the York River...[and which] appeared to have characters not unworthy of your notice....[It may be] however,...only...what is common with you; if so, it will only

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

serve as an Expression of the Desire I have to contribute to your Gratification in your Researches into natural Productions."¹ In this same letter he briefly discussed his observations of the "celebrated Fortifications...[about which he would] prove the opinion hitherto entertained of them to be entirely fallacious...[to be seen soon in] a short Essay upon this Subject, in some shape—probably in the National Intelligencer."² As previously noted, details of these observations were subsequently published in the American Philosophical Society Transactions.

Surviving evidence of three personal matters of importance to Madison and indirectly of importance to the history of the College, one of which was included in Madison's letter to Barton, should be noted here. The first of these, included in his letter to Barton in October, was the indication that Madison's son, James Catesby, was bringing the crystallization specimen to Barton, returning at this time to resume his medical studies which Madison requested Barton to direct and from which, he noted, his son had profited a great deal during the previous year.³ A second personal matter was that during this same year, 1803, Madison's other son, John, had been a student at William and Mary;⁴ but apparently he did not return for the fall term. In a letter to his cousin, James Madison, dated 18 November, Madison remitted cash to be given to his son

¹J[ames] Madison to [Dr. Benjamin Barton], [—] October 1803, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 26.

John who was en route to Baltimore to commence business.¹ And the third personal matter was that the silhouette by Peale which the College Library has of President Madison² was probably made at about this time.³ A letter dated September 29th from Alexander Macaulay, in Hampton, to his uncle indicates that Peale was in Williamsburg at this time. Macaulay's letter also includes details of Peale's procedure in drawing profiles.

The famous Peale the profile drawer has just gone from here yesterday & I send you one of my Blacks you may Get 4 profiles for 1/6 & if you get drawn twice he will let you have two Blacks. the profiles shew very well in frames which he sells for 2/3 a piece The machine is very ingenious, you sit on a table & apply your left ear to a piece of wood scooped out like a spoon & he then draws a small bit of Brass over all your face which is connected with a small fine pin which marks the paper, he then cuts out the profile with a pair of scissors & you put it on a bit of black Silk or Paper & it shews remarkably. The one I send is thought to be a remarkable likeness;⁴ he is gone to Williamsburg & suppose will proceed to Richmond.

As the year nears its end, Madison's correspondence indicated that he had a continued interest in national and party affairs and revealed that he had much concern for the welfare of the College as well as a personal concern for his own well being. At the end of October, he had noted in a letter to his cousin, James Madison, that "the treaty of

¹Calender of Correspondence, James Madison, p. 498.

²E. G. Swem, Catalog of Portraits in the Library and in Other Buildings of William and Mary College. Bulletin of the College of William and Mary (August 1936), 30:26, Portrait No. 97.

³Alex^r Macaulay to [his] Uncle, 29 September 1803, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary. Original owned by Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated [Note handwritten note in left margin].

⁴Ibid.

Louisiana seals the prosperity of the Western country, yet Jefferson has but few friends, as he discovered in his excursion to Kanawha";¹ and in a subsequent letter on December 11th, he attributed the opposition to the Louisiana treaty to a miserable anxiety to detract from the popularity which the Administration Party merits and not to stupidity.² Of the College, he wrote to Madison:

If any one should make any Inquiry relative to our College, I will thank you to communicate, that it is in a State of perfect order; that the late Regulations have produced, & I am assured, cannot fail to continue to produce the most beneficial Effects.—The System now adopted is that of Excision, rather than of Restriction; tho the latter is not neglected. But, we will never, again, permit a Student to continue here, a single Day, after he has shown the least Disposition to Idleness & Irregularity.—Nothing but the adoption of this System, & the Hopes I have of its—good Effects, would have detained me here.³

Perhaps the answer to the efforts of Transylvania University to entice Madison to become its President is to be found in this letter as well as the reasons, or at least some of the reasons, for the response given in his letter written to Madison two days later:

Thank you for your Communication—respecting the Presidency in the Phil^a University. Dr. Logan had written to me upon the Subject, but I requested him not to—consider me as a Candidate;—nor to permit me to be voted for at the Election.—Instead of desiring to engage in more active Scenes, even where the Temptation might be much greater, than the proposed Station presents, I am anxious for Retirement.—But when, or how that desirable object is to be attained is the Difficulty.⁴

¹Calender of Correspondence, James Madison, p. 498.

²Bishop Madison to [James Madison], 11 December 1803, James M. Owens Collection, Box 4, Folder 6, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

⁴J[ames] Madison to James Madison, 13 December 1803, James M. Owens Collection, Box 4, Folder 6, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

Specific evidence relating to many aspects of the College for this year is not available at this time; however, the evidence that is available would indicate the exercise of a strong leadership role on the part of the President with at least supportive leadership having been exercised by the Professors and by the Board of Governors and Visitors. It was a difficult year, but apparently a year during which Madison was able to bring to fruition, through the support of the Board and of the Society, the implementation of educational goals he had long envisioned as being necessary for creating the most desirable social and academic milieu in an university.

At the beginning of the year 1804, it would certainly appear that President Madison's assertions in mid-December that the state of the College was in perfect order and that most beneficial effects would result from the new regulations had the concurrence of the Professors, the Visitors, and even the General Assembly. On January 9 the General Assembly passed an act for raising by lottery the sum of twenty thousand dollars for the benefit of the "University of William and Mary," the first evidence of support since the palace lands and other lands were granted to the College by the Assembly in 1784:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That it shall and may be lawful for James Madison, St. George Tucker, Robert Andrews, John Bracken, William Nelson, Robert Greenbow, Burwell Bassett, Robert Saunders, Samuel Tyler, Champion Travis, William Lightfoot, Littleton W. Tazewell, George Tucker, and James Semple, gentlemen, or a majority of them, to raise by lottery, or lotteries, the sum of twenty thousand dollars, which shall be paid by them into the hands of the bursar of the University of William and Mary, to be applied to the benefit of the said university, under the direction of the

Visitors thereof, in such manner as they shall think best.

This act shall be in force from the passing thereof.¹

By January 29, however, it is learned that the College had just lost its Professor of Mathematics, presumably Robert Andrews. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson of that date, Madison indicated this loss and made inquiries of Jefferson with regard to the probability that a Mr. Mansfield, "the author of the ingenious Dissertation with which you favoured me, might be induced to accept the office,"² recalling that Jefferson had previously indicated Mr. Mansfield's involvement in executing some business; but, Madison noted, should he return by fall and be available, the position could be kept open for him, "especially if his private character be worthy of his distinguished Talents. The Emoluments may be rated at \$1,000 per an.—too little indeed to attract men of real talent; but we do not abandon the Hope of a more adequate Remuneration."³ Madison also suggested that Jefferson might know of some other person whom he would recommend for the post. It could be assumed that in the interim period, either Madison or some other member of the Society, as in the past, assumed the additional responsibility of teaching mathematics, undoubtedly considered an essential part of the curriculum. Professor Andrews had also served as Bursar of the College, presumably, since his appointment in 1779;⁴ William Coleman, a member

¹Hening, Statutes at Large, 16:50.

²J[ames] Madison to [Thomas Jefferson], 29 January 1804, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 57..

of the Board of Governors and Visitors and a resident of Williamsburg, was appointed to succeed him as Bursar in 1804.¹

By February 15th, it is evident that a few days earlier Professor Tucker had resigned his professorship as a "consequence of some new regulations made by the Visitors...[to which] he did not like to conform."² According to one law student, William Taylor Barry,³ Judge Nelson was appointed to succeed him as Professor of Law; but he noted, "this does not affect the law students [of whom there were twelve or thirteen];⁴ they attend Mr. Tucker as usual, and he pays as much attention as while he was Professor, and will continue so to do for as long a time as if he had continued Professor."⁵ A nice situation for William Nelson,⁶ President Madison, and the Visitors, not to mention the College! Irrespective of this aspect of the loss, the College had lost one of its two most respected professors, one who had both a state and national reputation, and one who had, in these respects, provided a strong leadership for the College.

¹Ibid.

²William T. Barry to [his brother], 15 February 1804, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(October 1904):113.

³William Taylor Barry began his classical education at Woodford Academy, graduated from Transylvania University, and completed his legal education at William and Mary, enrolling at the College in 1804. WMQ 8, 1st ser.(October 1904):107 and A Provisional List, p. 7.

⁴William T. Barry to [his brother], 30 January 1804, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(October 1904):109.

⁵Ibid., 15 February 1804, p. 113.

⁶William Nelson was elected to the Faculty in 1804. A Provisional List, p. 50.

The new regulations to which Professor Tucker preferred not to conform are not known. Perhaps there were aspects of the July 23rd regulations relating to student academic discipline with which he could not agree. It is more likely, however, that among these regulations, he was less willing to conform to the schedule demands and limitations placed on the Professors, particularly in light of the duties and responsibilities his judgeship imposed upon him and the evident conflicts between the court calendar and the school calendar.

The esteem with which Professor Tucker was held can be seen in a letter of Young Barry who wrote of "Mr. Tucker," shortly after his arrival at William and Mary:

He is a man of genuine cleverness and of the most exalted talents. I am more and more pleased with him every day. He pursues a course somewhat different from what he used to do; instead of listening, he puts his edition of Blackstone's Commentaries into our hands, allots a certain portion for us to read and examines us every day (except Friday, when we attend Mr. Madison's lectures on Natural Philosophy). In his examinations he is very minute and particular, I never underwent such strict ones before. He doesn't confine himself in his examination to what is comprised in his late publication, but makes use of it as a text-book on which he comments largely. He has in his possession many documents which throw much light on the law of this Commonwealth, that are rarely to be met with. He is more luminous on the subject of law than any man I ever saw, and takes more pains to communicate instruction to his students. If I am attentive (and I think I shall be), I shall acquire more correct legal knowledge this winter than I did in twelve months while with James Brown.

Young Barry also had much respect for President Madison, particularly as a lecturer on Natural Philosophy; and he was cognizant of the advantages the College's scientific apparatus offered one. He wrote to his brother:

¹William T. Barry to [his brother], 30 January 1804, WMQ 8, 1st ser. (October 1904):109.

I attend Mr. Madison's lectures on Friday; they are at once improving and highly gratifying. I thought at first I would not attend them, but give all my attention to Law....But I concluded that....I might not have another such opportunity of extending my knowledge in that department of science. I imagine no person is better qualified to lecture on Natural Philosophy than Mr. Madison, and there is no college on the continent that has such extensive apparatus as this.¹

The esteem of another student for President Madison is evidenced in a letter printed in the Virginia Argus on 10 March:

The character of Bishop Madison, is an interesting one. In his life and habits he is perfectly systematic and regular; in his disposition, placid and indulgent; in his manner, the perfect gentleman: and in point of scientific knowledge, he is undoubtedly a finished scholar.—As a tutor, he certainly stands in the first rank. He strives with indefatigable zeal to open and expand the mind of the student, and his manner of illustrating is plain, intelligible and convincing. In his opinions of every kind, he is liberal and indulgent. The priest is buried in the philosopher, for he embraces no opinion that philosophy will not justify. With a perfect knowledge of mankind, he is at once able to discover virtue and merit wherever they exist—qualities which he treats with respect in every condition of life, while their² opposite vices meet with his invariable neglect and disapprobation.

William Barry's letters written to his brother during January and February, shortly after his arrival at the College, provide further insight into other aspects of the College at this time and of the community of Williamsburg as well. He found the condition of the College was not as flourishing as he had anticipated; there were no more than fifty students besides the twelve or thirteen law students,³ attributable in a great measure, he believed, "to the dissipation of the place.

¹Ibid., 6 February 1804, p. 111.

²Virginia Argus, 10 March 1804, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):77.

³William T. Barry to [his brother], 30 January 1804, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(October 1904):109. Goodwin's Historical Notes indicates the number of students to be 56.

Parents are afraid to send their children here, lest their morals should be perverted, and the fear is not altogether without foundation, tho' the students are much reformed to what they have been."¹ However, he noted, one determined to study could do so and be as retired as he pleased: "I have never read more attentively in my life than since I have been here."² His general schedule, to which he did not always conform, sometimes reading less and sometimes more, was as follows:

I rise about sun up, read until 11 o'clock, then go to the lecture room, the examinations almost always detain me until 2 o'clock in the evening. I then return and dine about 3 o'clock. The rest of the evening I devote to exercise and company, until about 7 o'clock at night, when I commence reading again and continue at it until 11 o'clock, which is good bedtime.³

He found Williamsburg to be expensive, the price of board being fifty dollars a quarter plus a good many contingent expenses; and the accommodations he characterized as very indifferent. He lived with a Mr. Anderson who had seven or eight boarders and kept a pretty good table; and the gentleman who had been recommended to him, although he had nearly thirty boarders when he came, had seemed anxious to take him also. However, he knew that so many would be disagreeable and had declined the offer.⁴

Young Barry found the people of Williamsburg to be "remarkable for their hospitality and familiar deportment towards strangers, which

¹William T. Barry to [his brother], 30 January 1804, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(October 1904):109.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 6 February 1804, p. 110.

⁴Ibid., 23 February 1804, p. 113.

does away with many embarrassments which the odious formalities of some places give rise to."¹ He believed this distinctive hospitality, however, "proceeds in some manner from a kind of family pride, of which the citizens of this place, particularly the old people, are pretty full. They wish (and it is quite natural they should) to keep up the name of the place."² However, the "refinement that once characterized the people of this place does not exist in so eminent a degree now."³ He characterized the young ladies as being less refined than formerly—very familiar, easy to become acquainted with, and deficient in literary attainments except for one or two whom he had met. Though he maintained that their manners were less polished than expected, that very little knowledge could be acquired by associating with them, and that their freedom of conduct was not consistent with his notion of propriety even though it might be consistent with the strictest principles of virtue:

I feel very little embarrassment in entering the company of ladies here, and I spend a good deal of my time in that way. It sometimes encroaches on my studies, but I take care that such encroachments shall be rare. I don't conceive the time I spend in this way to be altogether lost, for it will tend to give a polish to the manners, that is absolutely essential to enable us to glide smoothly thro' society.⁴

Williamsburg, he found, rarely offered anything new or interesting, the circle of amusements consisting principally of parties and balls; and President Madison had apparently imposed a rule prohibiting

¹Ibid., 30 January 1804, p. 110.

²Ibid., 15 February 1804, p. 112.

³Ibid., 6 February 1804, p. 111.

⁴Ibid. Note also letters of 30 January 1804, p. 110 and of 15 February 1804, p. 112.

the students from having balls. In a letter dated January 6th to Miss Sally Galt of Williamsburg, a friend wrote from Spring Station, Kentucky: "Sorry to hear that the Bishop has prohibited the students from having balls....I do not know what you poor girls will do this Winter—since the Bishop has so positively prohibited the students from having balls."¹ His rule apparently did not extend to those given by the people of Williamsburg. On February 15th young Barry wrote that though Williamsburg had been dull for some time past, it would be "enlivened by a splendid wedding to-morrow evening to which I am invited, and this will be followed by one or two dances that will be given to the married couple. I expect to unbend my mind for a few days, and quit for a while the study of books for me equally important, that of man."² This is noted, however, at the same time as Professor Tucker's resignation; and it is possible that the College regulations no longer applied to Judge Tucker's law students. It is doubtful, however, that this was the case. This would have made matters difficult indeed for the College.

The appearance of Williamsburg itself was described by young Barry as not very pleasing though the site of the town was handsome: "...indeed, I never saw, and I think there cannot be a more elegant street anywhere than the Main Street is....terminated at one end by the College and at the other by the Capitol....perfectly level and nearly a

¹M. B. M. to Miss Sally Galt, 6 January 1804, Galt Papers, Volume I, Box 1, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²William T. Barry to [his brother], 15 February 1804, WMQ 8, 1st ser. (October 1904):113.

mile in length."¹ The Capitol, he noted, appeared to have been designed with more taste than the College, but its form could not really be distinguished because one part had been pulled down to repair the other. The College was a large, rude building, easily distinguishable from the common brick-kiln Jefferson had described it as being, but certainly not elegant. He concluded that the person who planned it, "Sir Christopher Wren, had not manifested an exquisite taste for the beauties of architecture."² The houses in general were not built with durable materials nor with a view to architectural fame; many had tumbled down, and others crumbled daily into ruins.

The prospect which they present now is gloomy and melancholy; everything seems on the decline; 'desolation has saddened all the green;' [sic] the ravages of the rude hand of time meet the eye in every quarter of the town....I never walk the streets without experiencing the most gloomy sensations; but it is a kind of pleasing melancholy, that the mind rather courts than despises. It is a dignified pleasure that is always excited in the mind when viewing the vestiges of departed grandeur.³

The effects of the removal of the capital from Williamsburg were apparently very evident less than thirty years after its removal to Richmond.

The most negative of William Barry's observations in these letters to his brother related to the students and consequently to the College itself. He noted in his letter of February 6th:

There are but few young men of talents at College. I was utterly astonished when I got acquainted with them; more so as it is generally the case that the most promising young men in the State are sent here.

¹Ibid., p. 112.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., pp. 112-113.

It must be owing to the dissipation of the place, for young men of cleverness after being here awhile are apt to fall into the current of dissipation, and if they do it is sure to abate the energies of genius and disinvigorate the understanding. This College has turned out a great many men of cleverness in time past, and it is possible that it may in time to come, but I apprehend it has past its meridian, and is now fast descending in the western horizon. This opinion may be premature, but it is one that results from present impressions.

Were young Barry's observations true? And if so, why did the Society, the Visitors, President Madison himself allow such a condition to continue? Could this climate have arisen during the long period when the Society lacked the support of the Visitors or had it existed over a longer period of time or was it a more recent development? Was the prevalence of such a climate perhaps the primary target of the recently enacted Statutes? If so, the Board and the Society were indeed providing a strong and much needed leadership for the College.

The observations of another student, noted in 1802 at the time of the strong student reaction to the suspension of two students, indicated similar concerns regarding dissipation and young men of talents or cleverness and perhaps should be noted again:

...I believe nothing can restore good morals and rectitude of conduct, as long as one of the present race, remain here. I feel grateful to the College for the many benefits it has conferred on me but I should not do my duty as a man, if I were to counsel any person to send their children here; at least as long as the idea [p]revails, that dissipation and disorderly conduct are the first requisites to the acquisition of reputation for talents.²

It is important to note two aspects of this observation: "as long as one of the present race, remain here" and "as long as the idea [p]re-

¹Ibid., 6 February 1804, p. 111.

²Henry St. George Tucker to Joseph C. Cabell, 28 March 1802, Manuscripts Department, Box 2, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

vails, that dissipation and disorderly conduct are the first requisites to the acquisition of reputation for talents." One is constrained to raise the unanswered question, Was there one person among the Society responsible for the existing climate, responsible for the idea that "dissipation and disorderly conduct are the first requisites to the acquisition of reputation for talents"? It would seem that the students were aware of the source of the ideas which prevailed and of the fact that perhaps proper action to remove the source or cause had not been the course taken by the Faculty, by the Governors and Visitors. Since the writing of young Tucker's letter in 1802, one of the Professors had left the College. No evidence is available concerning the reasons for his departure, and even the fact of his departure is known through President Madison's efforts to find a suitable Professor of Mathematics. Could he have been the source of the ideas which prevailed? Had the Society and the Board of Governors and Visitors assumed the necessary leadership posture and taken an appropriate course of action; or had Professor Andrews, like Professor Tucker, found the regulations of July 23rd incompatible with his own views regarding his responsibilities at the College?

The gentlemen appointed by the General Assembly on January 9th to conduct a lottery on behalf of the College apparently had taken the steps necessary for its implementation, and the date for the drawing of the lottery tickets had apparently been set for July 2nd. In a notice dated June 2nd and published in the Virginia Argus on June 6th, postponement of the drawing, due to unforeseen circumstances, until the 20th of July was announced with an accompanying statement that on this day the drawing will surely commence. In the meantime, the notice stated,

people were to purchase tickets; and the gentlemen who had undertaken the sale of tickets were requested to forward at once a list of tickets sold and of those remaining on hand. They were also requested to pay the money collected to one of five people indicated in the notice; and the editors of the Petersburg, Fredericksburg, and Norfolk papers were requested to insert the notice three times.¹

On July 4th another notice, dated July 3rd, appeared in the Virginia Argus. Apparently only a few of the gentlemen who had assumed responsibility for tickets had responded; the sales were apparently not sufficient to justify the commencement of a drawing; and the Commissioners appointed by the Assembly, feeling greatly mortified in having to postpone the drawing, declined to set another date for the drawing but did state that nothing would be wanting on their part to hasten the drawing. They also authorized those who had assumed responsibility for selling the tickets to sell them on credit for ninety days, apparently if the purchaser bought ten tickets, and "to assure those holding them by purchase on credit, that no payment of their respective bonds will be required, until 90 days shall expire from the time of beginning to draw...."²

Henry St. George Tucker of Winchester was apparently one of the few who responded to Bishop Madison's published request of June 2nd. Writing to Madison on 14 June from Winchester, he indicated the sale of

¹"Notice," from J[ames] Madison, Chairman, 2 June 1804. WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(April 1925):121-122.

²Virginia Argus, 4 July 1804, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(April 1925): 122-123.

four tickets (Nos. 526, 617, 620) out of one hundred, one of which he had purchased himself (No. 532), for which a total of forty dollars would be paid by his father for him. His letter provided a clue as to why the sales were not going well. He noted that his lack of success "has proceeded from the number of Lotteries in the neighbourhood of this place:—two or three for Shenandoah;—one for this town & one or two for roads over the blue ridge."¹ If this kind of competition existed all over the state, and it quite possibly did, sales insufficient to justify a drawing could be an understood but unfortunate reality. In a letter to his father the following day, in which he requested that he pay Bishop Madison the forty dollars which he would repay when they met in Staunton, were comments, the nature of which undoubtedly had an impact on the sequence of events which helped to shape the future of the College not too many years later:

I have received no letter from you since your trip to Norfolk. I suspect when you once met the doctor you were not anxious to part with him. I hope they were all well & that John Heartwell intends to continue so by coming up the country this summer. It has become so fashionable that this alone should be a sufficient inducement to him, independent of health [*italics the author's*].²

One of the arguments used by Jefferson and others for removal of the College from Williamsburg was a desire to locate the College in a healthier climate in another part of the state. Young Tucker notes that it had also become fashionable to remove to the healthier climate.

¹Henry S. G. Tucker to The Right Reverend Bishop Madison, 14 June 1804, Tucker-Coleman Collection, Box 24, Papers June 1804, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Henry S. G. Tucker to Saint George Tucker, esq^r., 15 June 1804, Tucker-Coleman Collection, Box 24, Papers June 1804, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

Evidence that the sale of lottery tickets on credit was perhaps a wise decision is noted in a letter from Wilson C. Nicholas of Warren to President Madison on July 4th:

Last Winter Mr. Basset sent me thirty lottery tickets to be disposed of for the benefit of William & Mary. I was able to sell but one ticket. I have now in my hands twenty-nine. Understanding from one of your agents at Norfolk that you allowed him to sell at sixty or ninety days credit, I determined that I would take on my own account all those tickets to be paid for at the same time. You will be pleased to inform me if this proposition meets your approbation, if it does not I will return the tickets immediately.

In spite of this apparent stimulus to ticket sales, the drawing had not taken place by November 3rd, the date of an entreaty from Madison at the request of the Commissioners for reports of sales to be forwarded "by the last of this month at the farthest."² The letter included a specific three-column mode for reporting the returns and was published in the Virginia Argus on November 17th. Either the expeditious conduct of a lottery at this time was, in reality, an impossibility or the College was experiencing very poor leadership on the part of some or all of those charged with the exercise of responsible and effective leadership for the College.

Affairs of the College, other than financial, also needed resolution. In a letter of August 2nd, it is learned that the College still did not have a Professor of Mathematics. Subsequent to his writing to Jefferson regarding Mansfield, Madison had also written his cousin James

¹Wilson C. Nicholas to Doctor Madison, 4 July 1804, James M. Owens Collection, Box 7, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²J[ames] Madison, Chairman to [———], 3 November 1804, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Madison on 18 April, indicating that he thought it would be wise for Mansfield, then employed as a surveyor or geographer, to accept the offer of a professorship at William and Mary.¹ In the letter of 2 August, Madison again wrote his cousin in an effort to determine Mansfield's inclination in regard to the offer extended him.² Whether Mansfield ever had the courtesy to respond is not known, but apparently he did not accept the position. Available evidence shows that George Blackburn was appointed to the Faculty in 1804³ and that he served the College as Professor of Mathematics.⁴

Whether Madison engaged in scientific pursuits during the interim period between August and October, as he frequently did, is not specifically known; but his correspondence indicates that he probably did. He wrote to Jefferson on July 3rd that he regretted not having an instrument in which Jefferson apparently was interested but had given it to a Cap. Hutchins in [17]84; and in spite of his intentions all these years to procure a more perfectly constructed one, he had only recently given directions for procuring one in Philadelphia or New York:

...I have been anxious to have one to use as a traveling companion this Fall, in order to ascertain the Latitude of some particular Places in Virginia....In case of a Disappointment, I had even Thought of separating the common Hadley's Quadrant into convenient Pieces, which might be united by Slides, or other means, when it was

¹Madison (Rev.) to Madison, 18 April 1804. Calender of Correspondence, James Madison, p. 499.

²Ibid., 2 August 1804.

³A Provisional List, p. 49.

⁴C. William Leeds III, "The Early History of Mathematics at the College of William and Mary in Virginia." An unpublished study dated January 1956, pp. <iii> and 15.

required for use.—I am satisfied an ingenious mechanic would render one very portable in this way,¹ whilst the accuracy of the Instrument would be but little impaired.

In a letter to his cousin, James Madison, on 2 August, he asked that he lend him his father's meteorological observations;² he also discussed with Madison an invention for sharpening razors for which one John Houston wished to obtain the patent.³

The health of the College was apparently good as time for the Fall term approached. A portion of a letter from John Page, then Governor of Virginia, dated September 14th contained congratulations: "Present Mrs. Page & myself to Mrs. Madison as ever mindful of her, & as wishing you both health & happiness. Accept also my Congratulations on the happy State of Affairs under your Administration and my Assurance of perfect respect & Esteem."⁴ And in the Virginia Argus, on October 3rd, appeared a notice dated September 1804: "The lectures in William & Mary College will commence, as usual, on the Third Monday in October."⁵ On 31 October another notice appeared in the same publication: "The Lectures on Law and Police at the College of William & Mary will commence

¹J[ames] Madison to [Thomas Jefferson], 3 July 1804. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Madison (Rev.) to Madison, 2 August 1804. Calendar of Correspondence, James Madison, p. 499.

³Ibid.

⁴John Page at Rosewell to Bishop? Madison, 14 September 1804, Manuscripts/Small Collections, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

⁵Virginia Argus, 3 October 1804, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

on the 20th of November."¹ The College had lost a most able professor of law; but the professorship had been almost immediately filled, and the lectures in law continued. The professorship in mathematics had possibly been filled by the beginning of the Fall term. Four new members had been elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors at some point during the year: Nicholas Faulcon of Surry and John Tyler, Samuel Tyler, and William Wirt, all of Charles City.² The financial picture of the College was brighter than it had been in years although not as bright as the responsible bodies had anticipated at the beginning of the year, and the College had been provided with a strong and wise leadership on the part of the President and of the Visitors in the face of some difficult and even somewhat "mortifying" situations.

President Madison's continuing and active interest in affairs of state, his use of friends with national reputation and influence—Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States and James Madison, Secretary of State—could only benefit the College in spite of Federalists' maligning of the party in power. And as the year ended there is evidence of an even wider scope of interest and influence on Madison's part. Indicating an interest international in scope is a letter written on 12 December by a Dr. Lettsom from London which focused on the subject of slavery, responding apparently to a pamphlet he had received from Madison some time earlier on "the Emancipation of your Slaves" and to one received more recently from a Dr. Ramsey of Charleston on the "cession of Louisiana." Lettsom discussed procedures for the emancipation

¹Ibid., 31 October 1804.

²A Provisional List, pp. 51-55.

of slaves, recommending adoption of the example of the late Prime Minister of Denmark, Count Bernstaff, which he proceeded to detail. He also discussed the subject from a scientific point of view concluding that "the law of the Creator both in the animal and vegetable creation, [seems to be that He]...has been pleased to form varieties in the human species, beyond the bounds of which we cannot trespass."¹

Of state and national import is the fact, learned through the media at the state level on 19 December and at the national level on 27 December, that President Madison was also, at this time and in addition to everything else, involved in preparing a map of Virginia, the rough draft of which would be submitted to the General Assembly in two or three weeks:

Richmond, December 19. MAP OF VIRGINIA. It is with much pleasure we inform the public, that a map of Virginia, laid down from actual surveys and the latest as well as most accurate observations, is now preparing by Mr. Madison, president of William and Mary College; a rough draft of which will, in the course of two or three weeks, be submitted to the inspection of the members of the General Assembly. The labor and expense attending the execution of this important work has been very great, and considerable length of time has been employed in collecting the necessary materials. Every county, and most of the public roads, &c, will be accurately delineated, and the whole work, we are informed, will be rendered ²so correct, as to merit the confidence and patronage of the public.

Madison was truly a man of remarkable talent and energy. The College was fortunate to have him as its leader, for he commanded respect in many fields and was held in high regard by many people.

¹Dr. Lettsom to the Rev. J. Madison, D. D., 12 December 1804, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Universal Gazette, Washington, D. C., 27 December 1804, 3:5. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

The year 1805 begins as did the year 1804 with the focus of attention on the lottery approved for the College on 9 January 1804. On 28 January 1805, the General Assembly passed an act to amend the act entitled "An Act for raising by lottery a sum of money for the benefit of the University of William and Mary":

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That James Madison, John Bracken, William Nelson, Robert Greenbow, Burwell Bassett, Robert Saunders, Champion Travis, William Lightfoot, Littleton W. Tazewell, George Tucker, James Semple, John Nevison and William Newsum, gentlemen, or a majority of them, or a majority of those who may act, are hereby authorized and empowered to carry into effect, the act passed at the last session entitled, "An act for raising by lottery a sum of money for the benefit of the University of William and Mary."

This act shall be in force from the passing thereof.¹

Missing from among the gentlemen previously named were St. George Tucker, Robert Andrews, and Samuel Tyler. Tucker and Andrews, as previously noted, were no longer members of the Society. Why Samuel Tyler who was elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors in 1804 was not included is not known. The two new names mentioned in the amended act were John Nevison and William Newsum, neither of whom is included among the available records naming members of the Board during this period.² All other names mentioned are included and could have been either members of the Board or were members of the Society.

On July 18th the drawing finally took place; but, as can be seen from a notice which by August 12th had made the news in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, it terminated in an unexpected and unpleasant manner:

¹Hening, The Statutes at Large, 16:197.

²A Provisional List, pp. 51-55.

William and Mary College Lottery—Yesterday the drawing of this Lottery terminated in a manner equally unexpected and unpleasant.—As few tickets remained, it was certain that the drawing would finish in the early part of the day; the ten thousand dollar prize had not been drawn, and the last drawn ticket being a prize of ten thousand dollars, made this day's drawing extremely interesting—accordingly a large concourse of persons were assembled, expectation was on tiptoe, and speculation great, tickets sold toward the latter part of the drawing at three hundred dollars each. About twelve o'clock the drawing finished, but behold there was no ten thousand dollar prize in the wheel.—This circumstance occasioned no small degree of astonishment to all present, and to none more than the managers, who knew that it was put into the wheel.—An examination immediately took place when the mystery was cleared up; it appeared clearly, that there had been a mistake in calling the ten thousand dollar prize, a five hundred dollar prize, as there is one more five hundred dollar prize recorded than was put in the wheel.—This mistake, for a mistake it can only be supposed, is attended with some uneasiness; in addition to which it appears, there is one number short, not having been put into the wheel.—From what we can understand, the Lottery will be redrawn.¹ [Norfolk, July 19.]

Among the archival records are two lottery tickets from this drawing both of which are signed by Ro.[bert] Saunders, For the Commissioners. One is endorsed for A. D. Galt with a note on the back that another ticket will be given if drawn before 8 July 1805.² The other ticket is No. 2279: "This ticket shall entitle the owner thereof, to such prize as shall be drawn against it in a Lottery authorized by an act of Assembly for the benefit of William and Mary University."³

By the November term of the Virginia Court of Appeals, the case of James Madison and others, Appellants, against William Vaughan,

¹Pennsylvania Correspondent, And Farmers' Advertiser, Doylestown, County of Bucks, 12 August 1805, 2:58. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Galt Papers, Volume I, Box 1, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

³Gift to William and Mary College Library from John Stewart Bryan, May 21, 1936. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Appellee, was among the cases before the Court. Vaughan had been awarded the five hundred dollar prize which he claimed to be rightfully his, the Richmond District Chancery Court having declared the drawing valid.¹ The Court of Appeals opened the case on November 11th with Judge St. George Tucker not sitting in the Court, "being one of the Comis appointed by the act of the assembly, though I never acted";² and on November 19th this Court unanimously reversed the decision of the lower court. The Appellants had insisted essentially on two points:

...the precautions taken rendered it morally impossible, that any tickets, which were put into the wheel, should have been lost; that all the tickets, which had been sold, were found upon examination to have correspondent prize or blank, except the ticket No. 3566. that against the 7999th drawn number a blank was drawn: and that it thus appears, that instead of 5938 blanks, which ought to have been in one wheel, 5940 were put into it; and instead of 8000 numbers in the other wheel, only 7999 were put into it.

The decree was for the payment of the prize of 500 Dollars, claimed by Vaughan, with some other directors, concerning other tickets, which were not judicially as is conceived, before the court; but to which the intention of the Court of Appeals, will probably be attracted, without a special point to that effect.

The points to be insisted on by the appellants are,

1. that there was error in the preparation and conduct of, the lottery.
2. that this error invalidated the Drawing.³

The disadvantage to the adventurers was computed as follows:

The Holder of the omitted Ticket entitled to an action for money had & used to his uses, there being no fraud suggested—vis to recover \$10—....

¹Madison &c [et al] vs. Vaughan. Appeal. St. George Tucker Papers, Folder 11, November Term 1805, Manuscript Collections, College of William and Mary.

²In the Court of Appeals, The case of James Madison and others Appellants against William Vaughan Appellee, St. George Tucker Papers, Folder 11, Virginia Court of Appeals, November term 1805, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

The disadvantage for the sum of these errors may be thus stated. From the mistake against them which is equal to $1/2966$. part of a Ticket Deduct the mistake in their favor—equal to— $1/8000$. part of a Ticket. The result will be found to amount to $1/4721$. part of a Ticket, against them. Equal in money to $1/10233$. part of a Dollar—upon each Ticket or the 23. part of a Cent.¹

Evidence that the financial needs of the College probably were not being met with the consequent necessity of recourse to other expedients can be seen in a notice which appeared in the Enquirer on September 10th:

FOR SALE

ALL the LANDS belonging to the COLLEGE of WILLIAM and MARY, lying in the county of King William—These Lands are in two separate tracts one of which borders on the Pamunkey river, [near?] the town of New-Castle, and includes some of [those?] level valuable lands between that town and M[—?]mill—they are divided into seventy-four remnants, some of which are on lease for lives from the college; others are under no lease....One fourth of the purchase money will be required on the first day of January next, and the remaining three-fourths, in equal payments, to be made on the first day of January, in the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, with interest from the first day of January 1806....

Wm. Coleman, Agent for the College of Wm & Mary.²

The need to sell these College lands was related, it could be assumed, to the confused state of the lottery approved for the College; funds were probably needed for operating, for salaries of the Society members, and possibly for legal fees associated with the impending court case—perhaps cases.

Fortunately, evidence reflecting more positively on the reputation and welfare of the College during this year is available to us also. One such piece of evidence—although the newspaper heading is

¹Ibid.

²Richmond Enquirer, 10 September 1805.

somewhat puzzling, "Extracts of a Letter from a Nervous Writer at Williamsburg, Dated July 4"—appeared in the Enquirer in Richmond on July 9th and concerned, it can be assumed, the 4th of July celebrations in Williamsburg, particularly the College's participation in the celebration. After characterizing the celebration as not being one which

...superstition took care to present to mankind in a venerable garb ...[; nor] the pantomime of a coronation, that most flagrant and revolting insult on common sense...[; nor] a carousel...contrived to relieve the ennui, and gratify the vanity of a despot...[; nor] a spectacle resembling...a Roman triumph, that solemnity dictated by the demon of pride, war and conquest...[; nor] one of the Revolutionary and observed festivals, which the₁artful policy of Robespierre once prescribed to groaning France...,

the writer stated that "it is the feast of reason and of the heart.... every circumstance is great and interesting.—To receive its full impression, it is enough to be a man and a citizen."² The author, concluding that he "need not expatiate on so pleasing a theme"³ for which their own feelings and ideas would suffice, then directed his rhetoric to the College's participation in the celebration:

As a sincere and active votary of science, you will rather expect from me some account of juvenile orations delivered at Williamsburg, a place which in the glow of patriotic and classical enthusiasm, I have more than once heard you call the Virginian Olympia. Five gentlemen have successively addressed a numerous concourse of their fellow-citizens after a₄ pathetic, and appropriate prayer offered to heaven by Bishop Madison.

These speakers included Mr. Goodwin [William Goodwyn] of Dinwiddie whose "very elegant and animated speech, celebrated the day"; Mr. Charles [H.]

¹Richmond Enquirer, 9 July 1805, WMQ 3, 2nd ser.(January 1923):65-66.

²Ibid., p. 66.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp. 66-67.

Smith [of Norfolk] who "by very forcible and very luminous arguments, established the predominant influence of moral causes in determining the character and manners of nations"; Mr. Peter [F.] Smith [of Chesterfield County] who "ably advocated the right of universal suffrage without regard to property"; Mr. [John] Hayes of Richmond who "examined 'whether man, by entering into society, diminishes or increases the sum of his rights'....with depth of thought, and elegance of expression"; and Mr. Holt [probably William C. of Norfolk] who, "in a speech equally commendable for perspecuity and strength, has proved that, in the United States, the most advantageous mode of employing capital is agriculture."¹ It is important to note the relevance of the orations to the political, economic, and moral concerns of that day. They certainly emphasize the extent to which the thinking and training of the students were attuned to the climate of the times and reflect a positive and wise leadership on the part of at least some of the Professors and Masters.

The author of the letter concludes with an exhortation aimed at the public councils of the state and the nation:

You, my friend, who have nothing more at heart than the progress of literature and useful knowledge among us, would have been highly pleased to hear such brilliant specimens of juvenile oratory....Why are we ignorant of our own resources! The attention of the legislature should be directed to this important subject of national education. The principal magistrates, nay, the governor himself, should by their presence consecrate and vivify these literary combats. Books, medals &c. should be distributed....I conclude with a wish that our public councils may catch the flame which already glows in the breast of many of our citizens for the² improvement of science, & the support of our neglected institutions.

¹Ibid., p. 67.

²Ibid., pp. 67-68.

The editorial response to the letter comprised two questions: "Why are not these orations regularly published? Would not such a custom contribute to produce some of those effects which our reputable correspondent has described?"¹ The author of the letter could have been and probably was President Madison himself. The editorial questions had a timely validity and were certainly worthy of serious consideration, consideration which they apparently did not receive.

Two areas of continuing interest to President Madison which did receive serious consideration and which were actively pursued were the map of Virginia and certain scientific inquiries. Evidence that Madison had been working on the map of Virginia is seen in a letter of William Prentis to Thomas Jefferson on June 3rd:

...I have been employed in endeavors to effect a Map of Virginia, a work I well knew was much wanted, and which would not fail, if accomplished, of rewarding the undertakers with some difficulty and solicitude. I at length prevailed on Mr. Madison, of Wmsbg—in the work—he is equally interested in its publication, and I am well persuaded has spared no pains to render it as complete as possible, considering the difficulties he had to encounter in procuring correct material for such a work. The Map has been examined by several gentlemen in Richmond, and other places, and very generally approved. Some small errors, however are sometimes pointed out which are occasionally correct.

The bearer, Mr. William Davis, sets off to-morrow for the purpose of passing through all the principal towns in this State, with the map, and it will give me much pleasure, Sir, if you will devote a short time to examine its merits. I am well assured of your disposition to promote works of real utility, and I am not disposed to bring forward one which does not meet that character.

A Mr. Bossler, from Switzerland, who I have understood came recommended to you is engaged to engrave it.²

¹Ibid., p. 68.

²William Prentis to Thomas Jefferson, 3 June 1805, James M. Owens Collection, Box 7, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

Writing to Jefferson on September 23rd, Madison himself expressed his appreciation for Jefferson's communications to Mr. Davis, "my draftsman":

I have availed myself of them entirely; having altered the whole Eastern Face of the Map so as to take them in.—I was solicitous to apply to you at the Commencement of ye Map, & shd certainly have done so, had I not felt so much reluctance in adding to your Engagements. Indeed, knowing the goodness of Mr.¹ Madison, I had applied to him for the Information he could procure.

In this same letter to Jefferson, Madison related two accounts of scientific interest concerning discoveries he had made during the month he was in Montgomery County. One account determined that on the basis of the perfectly preserved contents of its stomach a sizeable mammoth discovered by some laborers was herbivorous and not carnivorous; this apparently had been a much debated subject among philosophers for some time:

One of those decisive Facts has occurred, which I have thought worth communicating to you. Whilst I was, during this month, in Montgomery C^y, Major Preston informed me, that in attempting to dig a Well, some Time this Summer, at a Salt Lick in Wythe C^y, the Labourers struck upon the Contents of the Stomach of a Mammoth. They were found about 5 Feet & $\frac{1}{2}$ under Ground, lying upon a Limestone Rock, with the Bones of the vast animal around. The Contents were in a State of Perfect Preservation, & consist of half masticated Reeds,—Twigs of Trees & Grass; so that ye Question, whether the Incognitum was carniverous, or herbivorous, is now completely decided. These Substances have such evident Marks of having been in the Stomach of the Animal, whose Bones are contiguous, that no one who has seen them entertains a Doubt. Major Preston saw a Part of them; and as he lives within 20 miles of the Place where they were discovered, he has engaged, at my Request, to cause every Bone to be dug up, & sent, together with some of the Contents of the Stomach to this Place. If I can be successful, as I hope to be, in procuring all the Bones, I shall have the Satisfaction of erecting, in our College, a complete Skeleton. This wd be highly interesting in

¹J[ames] Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 23 September 1805, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

any Museum, & may, perhaps, serve to excite a Spirit for Physical Researches, among the youth of our Country.

How these contents have been preserved; whether by the Saltiness of the Earth, or by a partial Petrification, or, by resting upon a Lime-Stone Rock, or, by a perfect Seclusion of Air, must be left to future Inquiry. The Fact settles the Question among the Naturalists.¹

Jefferson, it perhaps should be noted, had presented to the American Philosophical Society on 19 January 1798, (during one of his terms as president of the society) the bones of a mammoth found some time previously in Virginia.²

The second account related to a simple, accurate, and easily executed method of constructing a mural quadrant which had occurred to him during his journey and which he had used to ascertain the latitude of several places in the western counties:

...indeed a Person may be said to carry his Quadrant upon a Slip of Paper, in his Pocket, if he will pursue the following Method.—First, let him draw a Circle of 5 or 6 Feet Radius, & determine, with accuracy, the Length of a Degree upon that Circle; then transfer 3, 4, or 5 of them to a Slip of Paper answering to ye Circle, & by Means of diagonal Lines divide them into Minutes, or $\frac{1}{2}$ Minutes. In this operation, there is no Difficulty; but, when it is done, ye material Part of the Quadrant is done.—At any Place, where the Latitude is to be taken, fix together smooth Planks, so as to be able to draw the outline of a Quad. of 5 or 6 Feet Rad. as the Slip of Paper may require; or sweep ye Arch of an Octant, or Sextent. If a Quadrant, bisect it, so as to obtain the 45^{n} Degree; take that half upon which the Plumline will fall, at y^r Time of observation, & divide it into whole Degrees; the Length of each being given by the Slip of Paper, this is soon completed. Then, the Declination of ye Sun being known, and the Latitude of the place within 3 or 4 Degrees, fix the Slip of Paper upon the Board, so as to coincide with the whole Degree, drawn upon it, & also, so that the Plumline will fall within its Range, when ye Meridian Altitude of the Sun is taken.—Nothing is now wanting, but Sights properly fixed, & a Pin for ye Board to play upon—These are easily prepared.—The Quadrant

¹Ibid.

²Clark, "Science in the Old Dominion," p. 30.

is then ready for use. The whole Process, when the Slip of Paper has been previously prepared, will not require $\frac{1}{2}$ an Hour, especially if a Pair of Spring Compasses be at Hand.

Had this Method, simple as it certainly is, been long in use, we should not now have been at a Loss for the accurate Position, as to Lat: of a single Court House, or Village, &c. in the State; for there is not a Surveyor who may not make Use of it, with great Ease & Certainty. By it, I found Fincastle to be $37^{\circ} 29'. 10''$ —Smithfield near the HorseShoe upon New River, $37^{\circ} 14'$.—New London, $37. 13' \frac{1}{2}$. tho this last Observation could not be relied upon. Richmond, by an Observation with Hadley's Sextant, I found to be in $37. 27'. 4''$ —¹

In a letter to Benjamin Smith Barton on October 6th, Madison related basically the same facts concerning the mammoth and the preserved contents of its stomach; however, his style of writing and emphasis on certain aspects of his findings were couched in more scientific terms, and numerous supportive and/or similar findings of other scientists were cited. He promised to forward a part of the contents of the stomach to Barton when he received them and repeated his proposed plan to construct at the College a complete skeleton from the bones. He again determined that he could not be conclusive about why the contents were perfectly preserved but maintained that he could be conclusive about it being herbivorous: "The Fact, however, is decisive as to the principal Question. It has summoned the discordant opinions of Philosophers before a Tribunal from which there is no Appeal."² In this same letter he also carefully described to Barton a rare vine, brought to him during his journeys beyond the Allegheny, which seemed to possess qualities meriting attention. The vine, when cut, had a strong smell of

¹Madison to Jefferson, 23 September 1805, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²J[ames] Madison to Dr. [Benjamin Smith] Barton, 6 October 1805, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

ginger; and the bark, a similar though somewhat bitter taste. Madison had apparently determined that the plant possessed possible medicinal qualities.

A third area of continuing interest, of great responsibility, and of increasing concern for Madison in the year 1805 related to his role as Bishop of Virginia, a role he had assumed in 1790. Prior to becoming Virginia's first Bishop, he had served the Episcopal Church continuously since his ordination in England in 1775. Soon after his return from England, he had become rector of the James City Parish, a parish which at that time embraced Jamestown Island and a portion of the county on the mainland.¹ In 1777 he had assumed the responsibilities of "the highest position open to a clergyman in Virginia, and, indeed, in America"² at that time, the presidency of the College of William and Mary; and in 1785, following the enactment by the legislature of the Act of Incorporation which incorporated the Episcopal Church and extended to it all the privileges enjoyed by other religious bodies and freed the church "from her bonds as the quasi-Established Church of the State,"³ Madison had become president of the first Convention of the Diocese of Virginia, an office he held during several subsequent Conventions.⁴ In

¹William A. R. Goodwin, Rev., History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia. (Rochester, New York: The DuBois Press, [1923]), pp. 69-73. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³Edward Lewis Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia (Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1927), p. 130.

⁴Ibid.

this same year he had been awarded the degree Doctor of Divinity by the University of Pennsylvania.¹

During the years following his consecration as Bishop, Madison continued his ministrations as rector of the Church "On the Main" (a rectorship he held until his death, the James City Parish thereafter merging with Bruton Parish in Williamsburg).² He also continued to serve as President and as a Professor at the College, his financial support being "dependent entirely upon the College, since the Convention undertook only to pay the expenses of his visitations and it is doubtful whether this was always done"³; and "the remains of the old Jamestown congregation could hardly have given him much."⁴ During the short vacations of the College, Madison performed the Church visitations, making journeys which were both extensive and laborious; and though most of the church records for this period "if any were kept, were lost by fire,"⁵ it is known that in 1792, the second year of his episcopate, he visited fourteen parishes in widely separated parts of the state (from Abingdon to York-Hampton) and that in five of these parishes "upwards of six hundred persons have been confirmed."⁶

¹Ibid.

²William A. R. Goodwin, History of the Seminary, p. 70. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

⁴Goodwin, The Colonial Church, p. 132. Rev. E. L. Goodwin states that "the diocese paid him for nothing," p. 132.

⁵Ibid., p. 128.

⁶Ibid., p. 131.

Through his legal acumen, Madison defended quite ably, but in vain, the glebe properties of the Church, "the sole remnant of her ancient vested rights...[which have been] assured to her by repeated enactments of the legislature of the state, since upon these depended largely the maintenance of the clergy."¹ All glebe properties became the possessions of the counties under the Act of 1802, enacted by the Legislature for the sale of the glebes.² Adopting a position considered by some historians to have been unwise, Madison continued to defend the principle of support by public assessment or taxation of religious teachers of all denominations long after its defeat—a proposition strongly urged by leading statesmen after the disestablishment of the Church but not by all, including the Bishop's cousin, James Madison, whose influence brought about its defeat.³

Bishop Madison was "strong in his belief that the Church of Virginia would recover something of her prestige and be restored to a measure of her former influence and dignity."⁴ At the General Convention of 1792, he made the first proposition for Church unity in the American church, a proposition directed in this instance "toward winning the Methodists back to their mother Church....a purpose dear to his heart and...in agreement with the earnestly expressed sentiment of the first Convention of his Diocese in 1785."⁵ The proposal received the

¹William A. R. Goodwin, History of the Seminary, p. 71.

²Review of The Great Awakening, VMH 38(October 1930):397,401.

³William A. R. Goodwin, History of the Seminary, p. 71.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid. Surviving correspondence indicates that Madison took an active interest in the affairs of the General Convention as well as

assent of the Bishops but was refused consideration by the House of Deputies.¹ Even the motto he had inscribed on his Episcopal seal, the single word Resurgam, evidenced his strong belief that the Church would recover a measure of her former position in Virginia.

In spite of his labor—for "few men of his day knew the whole state as he did, and he traveled all over it....he knew and kept in touch with the old and decayed colonial clergy, and [even] listed them for General Convention as rectors of their old parishes, where many of them, without claiming the title, doubtless continued to perform such ministerial functions as were possible to them"²—the Conventions of the Diocese grew smaller year by year "until it was increasingly difficult and finally seemed impossible to get a quorum together, and the Bishop was left to struggle on without the advice or cooperation of that body."³ This condition was attributed primarily to the long distances

those of his own Diocese. For example, among the J. P. Morgan Collection of Bishops' Manuscripts are several letters from Bishop Madison addressed to Rt. Rev. William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania, relating to various church matters, including the rapid gains of Methodism and the need to and possible means of averting its progress, 7 January 1793; the reprinting of the Prayer Book now to be used by the Church, 7 March 1791; informing Bishop White of the pronouncement of the Sentence of Degradation upon Mr. William Bland, 2 June 1794; the exchange of sermons and an expression of disappointment concerning the failure of Virginia to have a convention and the consequent unfavorable public impression, 29 May 1795; and Journals of the late General Convention and other Convention matters, 17 March 1796. (James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.) Among the Manuscript Small Collections at William and Mary is a letter from Madison to White concerning the unbecoming conduct of a Mr. Purcell and the Convention attitude regarding him, 8 October 1795.

¹William A. R. Goodwin, History of the Seminary, p. 71.

²Edward Lewis Goodwin, The Colonial Church, p. 132.

³William A. R. Goodwin, History of the Seminary, p. 72.

to be traveled, to the poverty of the clergy, and to the rapidly diminishing numbers of the clergy;¹ and only two conventions appear to have been held after 1799. The first, for which no journal appears to have been published, was held in 1803; and the second, in 1805.²

At the Convention held in 1805, Bishop Madison proposed "to it the election of an assistant Bishop on account of his inability, because of failing bodily strength and the pressure of other obligations, to discharge all the duties of his office. The matter was, however, deferred until the next Convention, and none other was held during his lifetime."³ One church historian notes that "his health was always frail, and his incessant labor and anxieties did not fail to leave their marks upon his body."⁴ Another notes that "his physical health, never robust, was failing slowly for several years....[however] he continued to exercise his episcopal functions as occasion offered until his end."⁵ The only other evidences noted prior to 1805 that would indicate possible declining health were Madison's statements, previously noted, indicating a wish to retire, a wish which seemed to be related to his activities and responsibilities at the College.

¹Ibid.

²Edward Lewis Goodwin, The Colonial Church, p. 134.

³William A. R. Goodwin, History of the Seminary, p. 73.

⁴Edward Lewis Goodwin, The Colonial Church, p. 134.

⁵William A. R. Goodwin, History of the Seminary, p. 73. George Burgess records the ordinations of clergy by Bishop Madison to the office of deacon during the years 1791-1809 as follows: 1791, two; 1792, four; 1793, three; 1794, five; 1795, two; 1796, two; 1797, one; 1798, three; 1799, none; 1800, one; 1801-1809, none; and in 1791, 1798, and 1804 respectively, one questionable ordination was performed (questionable meaning one which may have been performed by another bishop).

It is quite evident that President Madison, Bishop Madison, Professor Madison had assumed a very demanding role in life and had assumed very great responsibilities. Most church historians, however, place the primary emphasis on his life on the College: "...whether from choice or necessity, it was to the College that his life-work was chiefly given";¹ "...as president and professor his duties were as imperative as they were engrossing....this was the only source to which the Church could look for men qualified for the ministerial office or for social leadership."² A similar view is expressed by one of the College historians: "Though subsequently Bishop of the Episcopal Church, his proper place was the class room, where he spent as much as four to six hours a day."³ Madison himself, responding in a letter to Bishop William White of Pennsylvania on 4 June 1799, regarding the Proposed General Convention, stated that "My engagements at College are such as will not admit of my absence at this season."⁴ And it is to the College, as the year drew to its close, that evidence directs one's attention.

This data reproduced as an appendix to Kenneth W. Cameron's Early Anglicanism in Connecticut. (James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.)

¹Edward Lewis Goodwin, The Colonial Church, p. 133.

²William A. R. Goodwin, History of the Seminary, p. 73.

³Lyon G. Tyler, Early Courses and Professors at William and Mary College, An address delivered December 5, 1904, before Alpha Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. (Williamsburg: William and Mary College, 1904), p. 6.

⁴J[ames] Madison to Bishop White, 4 June 1799, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Writing from Williamsburg on December 26th, a student, William Radford,¹ noted that

A sense of dissipation has at length commenced at this place. The night before Christmas a great deal of mischief was done and we were summoned to the blue room. What may be the consequences I cannot tell.

...We have only forty-five students. The smallness of² the number is occasioned by the riots and dissipation last course.

If the "last course" referred to the Spring-Summer term of 1805, just what happened is not known; but apparently, the new statutes were not as effective as they had been the preceding terms. Numerous questions come to mind, but one can only conjecture. It is quite probable that the complications regarding the lottery had an attendant negative effect on the students and on the ability of the Society to effectively enforce the rules and regulations of the College, thereby attenuating the leadership posture of this body. It is also highly probable that the state of President Madison's health had some effect on his ability to maintain an effective leadership role overall. Apparently no new members were elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors during this year,³ and the leadership posture of this body was undoubtedly attenuated by the confused state of the lottery. A positive indication of academic leadership, however, is noted in the fact that the College did award the Bachelor of Arts degree to Arthur Smith, the first to be awarded, apparently, since 1802.⁴

¹A Provisional List, p. 33.

²W. Radford to Andrew Reid, Jr., 26 December 1805, WMQ 8, 1st ser. (April 1900):219. Goodwin states that the number of students for 1804-1805 was sixty-five (Mary Goodwin, Historical Notes).

³A Provisional List, pp. 51-55.

⁴Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

Early in 1806 an announcement, designed, it would seem, to increase student enrollment at the College, appeared in the Enquirer:

A table is established in college to receive boarders at the low rate of thirty dollars per quarter; it is intended that the table shall be plentifully furnished in a plain but decent style.

Those who wish it, may¹ be accommodated with Beds, Fuel and candles at a moderate charge.

Whether the anticipated positive effects of this notice were realized is not known; but the enrollment for this year is said to have been forty-nine.² A week earlier, an extract of a letter from a gentlemen in Williamsburg had appeared in the Enquirer:

I have sometimes thought of requesting you to say a few words in The Enquirer, respecting the introduction of NATURAL HISTORY at College. You are fully sensible of the advantages that must result from these early seeds of Natural Knowledge, thrown into minds eager to receive them, and to cherish and assist their growth. The connection of Natural History with medicine, agriculture and the arts, is well known to you. The probable influence of a study, the objects of which open in many...pure gratification,...the influence of such a study,³ I say, on the manners of youth, will be easily conceived by you.

It would appear that President Madison, the probable gentleman in Williamsburg and author of the letter, was intent on increasing the enrollment, reducing the costs of an education at William and Mary, and broadening the curriculum; and by keeping the public informed, he was providing the leadership necessary to gain public approbation and/or acquire knowledge of public disapprobation.

Another body charged with leadership responsibilities, the Board of Governors and Visitors, was also actively involved in fulfilling its

¹Richmond Enquirer, 25 January 1806, WMQ 20, 1st ser.(July 1911):19.

²Goodwin, Historical Notes.

³Richmond Enquirer, 18 January 1806.

leadership role and in keeping the regular activities of the College before the public. Apparently, no new elections to the Board were made in 1806;¹ but early in the year, on February 4th, a notice from Samuel Tyler (whose name was missing from the amended Lottery Act in 1805), Rector of the College, appeared in the Enquirer:

The semi-annual examination of the grammar boys and students, will commence on the 11th of this month; and the visitors are reminded that by their own resolution they are to meet on the same day. This and other business of importance to the interests of the college, it is hoped will obtain their punctual attendance.²

This meeting was probably held; and one of the matters dealt with was, in all probability, the appointment of an usher to the Grammar School.

On 28 March, the Enquirer carried the following notice:

An usher to the Grammar School in William and Mary College. A competent skill in Greek and Latin will be required, and also testimonials of unexceptionable moral conduct. The salary is £100 per annum, with board and a convenient room in the college. By order of the President and Professors.

N.B. To anyone who shall discharge the duties assigned to him entirely to the satisfaction of the Professor of humanity, an additional compensation will be allowed by the said professor from the tuition fees paid by each scholar.³

The only evidence of an appointment in this year is a [—] Crawford; however, his name is included among the names of members of the Faculty, and the name of an usher would not ordinarily be included.⁴ The position of Usher, however, was probably filled.

¹A Provisional List, pp. 51-55.

²Richmond Enquirer, 4 February 1806, WMQ 20, 1st ser.(July 1911):19.

³Richmond Enquirer, 28 March 1806, WMQ 20, 1st ser.(July 1911):19.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 49.

Another matter which probably received consideration by the Board of Governors and Visitors at this meeting was the Lottery drawing; for a notice relating to the drawing dated Williamsburg, 21 March, appeared in the Enquirer:

To those who purchased Tickets on Credit of the Commissioners and authorised Agents of the Lottery for the Benefit of the College of William and Mary:

That the drawing of the Lottery commenced on the 15th of January last, and terminated on Saturday the 15th present—That the credits being extended to 90 days from such its commencement; the payments will become due on the 15th day of April. All those who purchased on credit are earnestly requested to make them by the time specified. And those who have aided the commissioners in the disposition of Tickets, and have not yet made returns, are entreated to make collections, and forward them in time aforementioned to

Robert Greenbow,
Agent, and Treasurer.¹

With the November 19th reversal by the Virginia Court of Appeals which had legally decreed the previous drawing to be invalid, the College had apparently moved forward rather quickly to facilitate the commencement and termination of a second drawing.

In early April the students were apparently actively involved with the citizens of Williamsburg in responding to some suspicions of an insurrection among the negroes. One student, William Radford, wrote his friend that they had "turned out several nights successively until all apprehensions of danger subsided."² Near the end of April, some of the students themselves were involved in an undesirable form of behaviour. On May 1st young Radford communicated to his friend the details of a duel that "was to have been fought a few days ago between two students,

¹Richmond Enquirer, 21 March 1806.

²William Radford to Andrew Reid, Jr., 8 April 1806, WMQ 8, 1st ser. (April 1900):219.

Armistead T. Mason, son of Gen¹. Stevens T. Mason dec^d., and Bartholomew Henley."¹ President Madison learned of the plans in time to intervene, in the presence of young Radford; and with the aid of a young lawyer, William Wirt, Madison was able to avert the possible disaster.²

President Madison certainly assumed and fulfilled a leadership role in protecting the welfare of the students and, consequently, the reputation of the College in this instance. The Professor of Law was not at the College at the time; undoubtedly (one would prefer to assume) he would have aided President Madison or at least would have attempted to do so had he been there. If the two young men were law students, as was young Radford, the Law Professor's absence could have perhaps contributed to such an incident having arisen. In his earlier letter of April 8th, young Radford had written his friend: "Williamsburg g(et)ting more dull than usual. Our Law professor has left it to attend

¹Radford to Reid, 1 May 1806, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):220.

²Ibid. Young Radford gave the following account of the circumstances surrounding the duel. "They were to have fought with two pistols each, ten steps distance, advance and fire when they pleased. Fortunately, it was discovered by the Bishop. They were both young men of undaunted courage. I was in Mason's room about nine o'clock at night. The next morning was the time appointed. We were getting the pistols in order. The Bishop entered the house with a magistrate. Mason escaped. The B was then in a terrible quandary. Wirt [William Wirt, the celebrated lawyer] extricated him, he got himself appointed constable and without letting anyone know it, he begged W. Crump to inform him where Mason was. After much persuasion he consented upon being told that W did not wish to discover the parties, but only wished to see M for the friendship he bore his father. I am told when he entered no one knew his purpose. He rose and spoke so pathetically as to draw tears from every person present, begged they would excuse him for acting the deceiver's part as he was only actuated by friendly motives. He then took Mason before a justice, became his security in the sum of seven thousand five hundred dollars. The affair is since made up and the recognizance no longer continues."

to his circuit. He will not return until June: In the interval I shall have very little to do."¹

Of other students, a few weeks later, words of praise, even public acclamations, are noted. A friend of one of the students receiving praise wrote to a mutual friend: "In perusing the 'Enquirer' of Friday last, I discover that the geniuses at William and Mary, are numerous and resplendent. Our old acquaintance William Archer is one of the objects ...—high hopes are entertained of his future greatness—I wish they may be to their fullest extent realized."² The public acclamations noted in the Enquirer concerned the celebration of the 4th of July in Williamsburg; and the correspondent to the Editor of the Enquirer wrote that following the Bishop's devout prayer (the preceding year it was characterized as a pathetic prayer), the orations of the students once again comprised the principal portion of the celebration of the citizens assembled at the church. Six young gentlemen "did the highest honor to themselves and the institution of William and Mary, to which they belong, and...afforded us the happy presage that we may long celebrate, with delight, the anniversary of our independence, if genius, learning and virtue can secure this blessing to us."³ He continued his correspondence with the identification of each of the young orators and a brief statement concerning the subject of the oration given by each.⁴

¹Radford to Reid, 8 April 1806, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):219.

²Samuel Mark to Andrew Reid, Jr., 13 July 1806, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):220.

³Richmond Enquirer, 11 July 1806, WMQ 3, 2nd ser.(July 1923):201.

⁴Ibid., pp. 202-203. The young orators identified and the statements given regarding their subjects included the following:

The correspondent noted a striking difference between the orations delivered that day and those delivered in the past: "the first object of the speaker seemed to be to fill the mind and not the ear,"¹ rather than the reverse which had been true in the past. The celebration closed with the conferring of the degree of Bachelor of Arts on John T. Barraud and Benjamin Pollard of Norfolk, Bartholomew D. Henley of James City, and Benjamin Harrison of Charles City; and "the company retired, with feelings which virtue and innocence, only, know how to appreciate."² The author of this commentary to the editor of the Enquirer could have

"Mr. [Richard Clough, Jr.] Anderson, of Kentucky, gave us an harangue [*italics the author's*] on the day...notwithstanding the triteness of the subject...render[ed] it new, interesting and instructive. Mr. [William S.] Archer, of Amelia, (a young gentleman about 17 years of age, of whose future in this country very high expectations are formed, and we believe justly formed) had selected a curious subject, and it was feared..."no verdure could be made to quicken upon it," even by his talents; it was a regular defense of usury: yet he displayed so much research, argument, ingenuity and fancy, that we were surprised and delighted by him. His style...was clear, terse, elegant and the style of a veteran composer, while his thoughts themselves exhibited the firm texture of a mature mind. Mr. [Linn] Banks, of Culpepper, dilated [*italics the author's*] on the effects of the American revolution,...a bold and expanded survey...delivered...with great animation and force. Mr. [John F.] May, of Dinwiddie, discussed..."what form of government is best for the promotion of the arts, sciences and morals?" We have seldom anywhere heard an investigation more manly, extensive, profound and cogent; he left the beaten track; thought for himself...with an originality and strength which would have done honor to any statesman. Mr. Blow [George?], of Portsmouth, selected a subject opposite to his residence; contended for the freedom of commerce....We congratulate Portsmouth on the possession of a young gentleman, who begins so early to consider her interests, and who has displayed an ability equal to his zeal for her prosperity. Mr. William Waller, of this place, closed the exhibition by an oration on the freedom of the press....His view of his subject was not only novel, judicious, lively and strong, and his style rich and harmonious, but he had an expression of countenance, a grace and force of gesture, and a well-accented melody of voice, which ...afford the highest presage of his future figure."

¹Ibid., p. 203.

²Ibid., Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

been James Madison, although the use of such imagery-filled words as harangue and dilated give one pause; such usage has not been noted in other writings of Madison.

An essay written by one of these young gentlemen, John T. Barraud, is among the manuscripts in the College Archives. The essay is approximately four pages in length; and the subject, assigned or chosen, is the character of Cato. A portion of the essay reads as follows:

Mr. President.

To delineate at full extent the character of that great man would be an undertaking too vast for my juvenile pen, and more proper to adorn the page of history than to be the subject of my short Essay. This premised, I shall only attend to a few of the most remarkable and resplende/=nt actions in the character of this ornament of antiqui/=ty, who's memory will ever be cherished with veneration and respect by admirers of genuine virtue. In what=/=ever point of view we regard the great and illustrious Cato, either as a Philosopher, Senator, or in a military capacity, we find him all ways great and appearing to surmount the most of difficulties incident to man....

John Barraud¹

The essay appears to have been mailed to President Madison; for it is folded and addressed to "R^t R^{evd} J Madison, W^m & Mary College, Williamsburg"² and a red ink stamping is over a portion of the address. Neither the date of this work nor the time of its completion within the framework of his academic pursuits is known.

The return of dissipation noted by young Radford at the end of 1805; the events of the spring term; and, undoubtedly, other habits, attitudes, and events at the College resulted in the public announcement of a more restrictive system at the College, commencing with the fall

¹John Barraud to [James] Madison, Manuscripts, Small Collections, Barraud Papers (II), Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

term, and an official statement of the expenses of a student at William and Mary—both required and recommended. A notice in the Enquirer dated August 19th noted the establishment of a "plain but decent table,"¹ at the lowest possible cost to secure the College against loss, beginning at the scheduled time for the opening of the philosophical and mathematical schools, the third Monday in October. All junior students would be "compelled" to lodge and board at the College, to observe stated study hours, to appear for roll call at eight o'clock each evening in the winter term and nine o'clock during the summer term, to remain in their rooms following roll call until the next morning, and "to observe other regulations, which cannot fail to be highly beneficial to youth."²

The object of these was stated to be twofold: "not only to diminish the expense of a student at this College, but, to guard, as effectually as can be done, against dissipation and idleness."³ Parents were requested to share the responsibility for the latter, idleness and dissipation, by observing the following; for a silent approbation was not enough: "Let then no money be furnished beyond a moderate sum; and let no credit be allowed, except for specified articles, and to a specified amount....advice [which]...will, it is hoped, be duly appreciated, and departed from in no instance."⁴ The necessary expenditures of a student for the course were outlined as being: board, not to exceed 100 dollars; fees to two professors, 30; candles, fuel, and washing, 35;

¹Richmond Enquirer, 19 August 1806, WMQ 3, 2nd ser.(July 1923):204.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

pocket money, not to exceed 40 dollars—a total of 205 dollars. To support the more restrictive system, Madison made certain philosophical observations: "It is a maxim, not to be forgotten, that the improvement of youth will generally be inversely as their expenditures will be in proportion to the temptations, which a misapplied liberality must excite."¹ And in addressing the responsibility of the parents and guardians, he added this final note: "It is impossible that the wisest system of education can give to youth those inestimable benefits which might otherwise be derived, if parents and guardians do not strenuously, and zealously compel obedience to that economy which is here so earnestly recommended...."²

Another example of the extent to which President Madison gave of himself and his own energies in helping students and parents is evidenced in his letter of October 31st, addressed to "Hon. Judge Tucker":

It has never been our Custom to find a Bed for any youth living with us. Sandy has lodged with Albert; but I thought it advisable, particularly, as Albert has not yet got entirely free from a Kind of Tension, that Sandy should have a separate Bed. I have purchased one, with all the necessary Furniture, except an additional Pair of sheets, which shall be imm^y procured, for 30\$, & paid the amount.

When I recommended to Sandy to get a Bed for himself, I supposed, without sufficient Reflection, that it would be sent to him from Norfolk.

I have entered Sandy in the junior Class of students, & have not the least Doubt of his being among the most distinguished in it. His ambition to excel, together with his Diligence, & Clearness of Conception would not permit me to hesitate as to such a Measure, tho I had not rec^d your opinion respecting it. He is going on in the French, & shall not omit the requisite attention to the Latin.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 204-205.

Mrs. M. & Susan beg you to be assured of their most sincere & affectionate Regards—I beg you also to be assured of mine, & that I am truly,

Yr Friend,
J Madison

Sandy was always entreated
to take a Bed in another Room,
whenever Albert was un-
=well¹

Sandy's relationship to St. George Tucker is not certain. Henry W. Tucker was a student at William and Mary in 1806.²

About the time of the commencement of the winter term in October, a public announcement that "Professor Girardin will continue to lecture on Natural history....the last vacation...[having] been chiefly employed by him in revising and arranging his materials"³ appeared in the Enquirer. Apparent criticism regarding "want of a museum naturae, Botanic garden, etc."⁴ had been the public's response to the extract of the letter published earlier on 18 January; and these criticisms were met with this response: "Unquestionably, such splendid institutions are in a high degree subservient to the diffusion and progress of natural knowledge. Yet, let it be recollected, that no scaffold, extensive and brilliant as it may be, constitutes the edifice itself."⁵ The available materials for the study of the Philosophy of Natural History were identified as being adequate and numerous:

¹J[ames] Madison to Hon. Judge Tucker, 31 October 1806, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²A Provisional List, p. 41.

³Richmond Enquirer, 24 October 1806, WMQ 3, 2nd ser.(October 1923):239.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

A succedoneum not entirely inadequate may be found in plates, herbals, etc. and...the immense book of nature is everywhere, and at all times, open before the eyes of the inquisitive....Within a few miles, plants may be found to illustrate not only all the Classes of the Linnaean system, and most of the orders, but also many interesting, elegant, and useful genera, with some of their most valuable species. In the number, beauty and usefulness of her vegetable productions, Virginia yields to few tracts of country of the same extent....If we cannot bring nature into our laboratories, we can go to nature. In the pleasures of study, as well as in those of the chase, a little fatigue is a condiment not altogether unsavoury; and knowledge thus acquired, amidst a sublime and delightful scenery, is at once better relished and more impressive and permanent.

The author of this communication was undoubtedly President Madison; for he was well qualified, and in the closing lines are noted his often expressed plea for the support of the sciences: "Until, therefore, a proper degree of public spirit among us shall create and support great scientific establishments, let the efforts of individuals, whose zeal anticipates the erection of those noble fabrics, be encouraged and fostered."² His final words were those of Beddoes: "...set a proper value on our present knowledge, although it be imperfect, and restrain those rude hands that are ever ready to pluck up the tender plants of science, because they do not bear ripe fruit at a season, when they can only be putting forth their blossoms."³

Evidence of other studies being pursued by the students and the texts being used is noted in a letter to Andrew Reid, Jr., (who apparently entered William and Mary in 1806)⁴ from Edwin J. Harvie in Richmond:

¹Ibid., pp. 239-240.

²Ibid., p. 240.

³Ibid.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 34.

You will receive by the stage driver Smith's Wealth of Nations in 2 Volumes. [Madison began to teach Political Economy in 1784 and is believed to have been the first to have used Smith's great work in an American college.] Cavallo's Philosophy such as is used at Williamsburg cannot be procured in Richmond. There is one copy on Electricity 3 Volumes 7 Dollars & one volume on Magnetism 2½ Dollars which I would have sent you had I not met with some friends who were at that college the last session who observed that they would be of very little advantage to you.¹

Two other letters addressed to young Reid, both written in November, give additional insight into the affairs of the College and, to a degree, the public view of and interest in these affairs. The first, dated November 14th, was from William Radford, a former student: "Inform me fully when you write of all the news of the ancient metropolis: whether there is perfect harmony between the students and professors and between the students and citizens."² The second letter indicated that the lottery drawing was still unresolved and that a second lottery was in progress: "Let me know the fate of ticket 6159 of the first class of W^m & M College. If you are disposed to buy a ticket in the 2d class I will join you—you know we were fortunate in a preceding union."³ Although lotteries were an approved avenue of support for schools and colleges at that time, they were certainly a problematic and complicated avenue—or so they were, it would appear, for William and Mary at least. Whether this was a reflection on the leadership of the College, on the nature of a lottery, or on both is a matter of conjecture; the present circumstances probably reflected both.

¹Edwin J. Harvie to Andrew Reid, Jr., 30 October 1806, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):220.

²W[illiam] Radford to Andrew Reid, Jr., 14 November 1806, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):221.

³Samuel Mark to Andrew Reid, Jr., 27 November 1806, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):221.

Some evidence relating to President Madison's interests and concerns outside the College and additional clues concerning his health are to be found in surviving letters and journals from this year. His earlier work, "On the Remains of a Mammoth in Wythe County, Virginia," was noted in the Medical and Physical Journal of London for 1806;¹ and his continued active interest in the American Philosophical Society is noted in his letter to Benjamin Smith Barton in which he proposed William Lambert of Virginia for membership in the society, noting that there were very few who possessed his talent for astronomical observations, that he would rank high in Europe in this area of science, and that his works would do great credit to the publications of the society.² His letter also noted that he planned to forward to Barton some additional interesting observations on the Sweet Springs and that his son, now Dr. Catesby, was doing well, he hoped. It is in this letter that a clue concerning his health is noted: "In the last Vol. of your very useful Journal, I observe that a species of the Stramonium³ has been found efficacious in Dropsey. I am anxious to know it, & must beg the Favour of such Information from you, thus I can not only find it,

¹James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²J[ames] Madison to Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, 14 June 1806, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Datura Stramonium L[innaeus] or Jamestown or Jimson Weed are "rank weeds, narcotic-poisonous, with ovate leaves, and large showy flowers produced all summer and autumn on short peduncles in the forks of the branching stem....a well-known ill-scented weed [which grows in] waste grounds" and common to the area according to Gray's New Manual of Botany of 1908.

but apply it. I fear I have too strong a Tendency to that Complaint."¹

In a letter to his cousin, James Madison, his continued interest in the new map of Virginia is noted as well as the establishment of his son John in business.² The last surviving letter noted was written to a student; and the fact that other Colleges were still seeking Madison as president is revealed—in this instance, Washington Academy:

By your letter Mr. Madison continues to support that amiableness of deportment and assiduity of attentions to his students which have hitherto characterized him. It would have been an important acquisition of our Academy had we succeeded in getting him as President; altho I am now pleased with Mr. Baxter and hope great things from his great application and more liberal sentiments. Please present my best respects to Mr. Madison.³

And so the year ended. Madison had not succeeded, apparently, in having the orations of the students, delivered at the Fourth of July celebrations, published verbatim in the press as he, undoubtedly the gentleman from Williamsburg, had strongly suggested in 1805. He had succeeded, however, through the auspices of the press, in keeping those aspects of the College's life, needs, and activities conducive to its well-being before the public throughout the year. He had certainly exercised, it would appear, an active and wise leadership role; and he had apparently had the support of an interested and active Board of Governors and Visitors and of at least one member of the Society, Professor Girardin. The lotteries, it would appear, continued to be a

¹Madison to Barton, 14 June 1806, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Calender of Correspondence, James Madison, p. 499.

³Andrew Moore to Andrew Reid, Jr., 23 December 1806, WMQ 8, 1st ser. (April 1900):221.

problematic and tedious means of securing revenues; but perhaps it was better than other expedients.

Evidence for the year 1807 is even more fragmented than that of previous years. The number of students at the College is noted to have been forty-five;¹ and seven students were awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts: James Boisseau, William Crawford, Edward O. Goodwyn, Brook Hill, Armistead T. Mason, John B. Patterson, and John D. Royall.² Insofar as can be ascertained no new members were elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors nor were there new members added to the Society. It is noted, however, that one member of the Society, Professor Girardin, had his portrait engraved by St. Memin.³

Evidence that President Madison's map of Virginia had been completed and published is noted in the following resolution passed in the House of Delegates on 20 January 1807:

Richmond, That the executive be authorized to purchase at the expense of the commonwealth, twenty copies of the map of Virginia, recently published by the right reverend James Madison and others, to be by them disposed of as follows, to wit: One copy for the use of the executive, and one for each branch of the legislature of this commonwealth; one other copy to be presented to the congress of the United States, and the remaining copies⁴ to be presented to the legislatures of the respective states.

¹Goodwin, Historical Notes.

²Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

³Among a list of people of Virginia whose portraits were engraved by St. Memin in 1807 is the name of L. H. Girardin, professor in William and Mary College. WMQ 9, 1st ser. (January 1901):146.

⁴Samuel Shepherd, The Statutes at Large of Virginia, From October Session 1792, to December Session 1807, Inclusive (Richmond: Samuel Shepherd, 1836), 3:351.

The proposals for a map of Virginia which were presented to the Legislature in January 1805 had come to fruition in a very short period of time, incredibly short considering the other responsibilities concurrently being executed by Madison. The map engraved from his surveys came to be known as Bishop Madison's map and was considered to be remarkable for its accuracy of detail. It remained the official map of Virginia until it was redrawn and republished by William Davis, Madison's draftsman, in 1818 for the purpose of correcting a number of minor errors.¹ Madison himself was probably working on areas of verification and possible error even as the map was being published; for in a letter dated 28 January 1807, is noted the following: "I wish you to say to Bishop Madison that Wills Cowper has left in my care a map of the State of N. C. which is said to be very correct; no opportunity has offered since I received it, if he chooses it sent in the post I can do [torn] [so as I su?] ppose the postage would be but trifling."² The successful execution of such a task was certainly in accordance with the College's previously noted traditional association with surveyors in Virginia, the College having been responsible for appointing surveyors from the time of its founding until 1779, for the nomination of surveyors to be commissioned by the governor from 1779 to 1783, and for examining and certifying the ability of the surveyor nominations made by the County Court from 1783. The successful execution of such a task

¹James M. Owens Collection, Box 7, Manuscript Collections, College of William and Mary.

²Joseph Prentis, Jr. to Judge Prentis, 28 January 1807, Webb Collection, Manuscripts Department, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

certainly assigns to Madison a strong leadership role in this aspect of the affairs of the College and of the state.

Surviving letters of students indicate that once again the students participated in the 4th of July celebrations in Williamsburg: "I delivered an oration on the 4th of July....My theme was Eloquence."¹ There was also another celebration of national significance during this year in which the students not only participated but also assisted the citizens of Williamsburg in planning, the May 13th celebration of the second centesimal anniversary of the settlement of Virginia at Jamestown. On April 22nd at a meeting of the citizens of Williamsburg and the students of the College held at the Raleigh Tavern, Samuel Tyler was appointed Chairman and Robert Anderson, Secretary for the celebration of the "Lodgement of our forefathers at James Town."² The "Right Reverend James Madison and Messrs. Girardin, Cabell and Robinson" were appointed to a committee responsible for drafting appropriate resolutions which were to be submitted at a meeting to be held the following evening.

The meeting was held on the evening of the 23rd; it was again attended by students and citizens, and the report made by the committee (which did not include President Madison who had been absent at the preceding meeting and who, when asked, had declined to serve as a member of the committee) included seven resolutions: that they would joyfully associate with fellow citizens of other places in the celebration; that a committee composed of Messrs. Cabell, Semple, Greenbow, Girardin, A. Mason and Coleman would comprise a committee whose responsibility

¹Andrew Reid, Jr. to Samuel McDowell Reid, 13 July 1807, WMQ 8, 1st ser. (April 1900):221.

²Virginia Argus, 1 May 1807.

would be to correspond with other committees in making arrangements for a National Jubilee; that Bishop Madison would be requested to offer an appropriate prayer; that William Wirt would be asked to deliver an appropriate oration; that one of the students at William and Mary would be invited to deliver an appropriate address; that the "sense" of the citizens would be taken concerning a subscription for the purpose of erecting a suitable monument of native granite at the spot where our forefathers first landed; and that the proceedings of both meetings would be signed by the Chairman and the Secretary and transmitted to Richmond, Norfolk, and Petersburg for publication.¹ Notable among the stated considerations for such a celebration was the fact that it was a generally prevalent practice among nations to celebrate great epochs in their history and a practice worthy of imitation because

...it necessarily tends to carry the mind back to early and eventful periods; to present to it a wide range of observation and reflection; to perpetuate the admiration and gratitude due to the founders & active benefactors of states; to retrace the physical and moral improvements of a society, and to stimulate the present generation to transmit those improvements not only unimpaired but increased to posterity, and especially, by producing an assemblage of citizens from the most virtuous motives, to diffuse information, to inspire unity of thought and to create harmony of sentiment among all the members of the national family.²

This is a beautifully expressed rationale, one worthy of noting and remembering.

The celebration was held with the dawn being ushered in by the fire of a cannon:

...a second [cannon] announced the first faint etchings of the sun on the edge of the horizon.... [by] eleven o'clock...thirty-two

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

vessels graced the ancient harbour; upward of four hundred ladies embellished the scene....At 12 o'clock...a procession marched to the ruins of the old church steeple,¹ and the lugubrious group of tombstones contiguous to those ruins.

A forty-eight page report of the proceedings was published in commemoration of the 13th of May at Jamestown, the proceedings having consisted of a procession, a prayer by Bishop Madison, orations, odes, and toasts, and of the proceedings of the 15th of May at Williamsburg in commemoration of "the day when the convention of Virginia assembled in the old capitol, declared her independent and recommended a similar procedure to Congress and to the other states."² Two students, Briscoe G. Baldwin of Winchester and John Madison, gave orations at Jamestown and two other students, C. B. Blanchard and Leroy Anderson, read odes.³ The celebration was apparently deemed a success by Virginians; but it may not have received the desired national publicity. A letter from Baltimore addressed to one of the students indicated this to have been true in his area:

Your favour of the 25th May dated Williamsburg...arrived here yesterday....The contents so far as respected the second centenary anniversary of the settlement of our ancestors in Virginia were entirely new, as newspapers of this place took no notice of it; and I very seldom meet with one from Va. You no doubt spent your time

¹Report of the Proceedings of the Late Jubilee at James-Town, in Commemoration of the 13th May...Together with the Proceedings at Williamsburg on the 15th (Petersburg, William F. McLaughlin, and Norfolk, J. O'Connor, 1807), p. 11.

²Ibid., p. 36.

³Ibid., pp. 16-35. John Madison was the son of General William Madison and was at the College in 1807 and 1808 as was Briscoe C. Baldwin. A Provisional List, pp. 27 and 6, respectively. The other two names are not included among the available lists.

very agreeably at that immense assembly, which was convened on the plains of James Town.¹

Realistically the citizens had not given themselves very much time to plan, organize, and execute a celebration of national proportions in light of available modes of communication at that time. To the extent that it was publicized in Virginia and elsewhere, however, the College undoubtedly benefited from the leadership role exercised by its students, Professor Girardin, and President Madison.

Other surviving evidence relating to the students during this year include a notebook on natural philosophy, a letter concerned with a student's self-evaluation, and a letter indicating that once again the rules were broken by students engaging in a duel. The notebook on natural philosophy was kept by John Croghan, a student in 1807-1809;² and the title page reads "Heads of Lectures on Natural Philosophy delivered in the College of William and Mary by the R^t Rev.^d J.^s Madison taken by John Croghan student; during the course end^g in 1808."³ The book has one hundred sixty-six beautifully written pages with perfect left hand, top, and bottom margins observed throughout—a beautifully written set of notes. The student's self-evaluation related to composition requirements: "You no doubt expect I have become a student and are correct in your opinion. On Monday next I am to deliver a composition, of which I

¹S. R. Willison to Andrew Reid, Jr., 7 August 1807, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):222.

²A Provisional List, p. 14.

³James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Bound Volumes, Archives, College of William and Mary.

have not yet composed one sentence and of which I am afraid I shall not be able to compose one line."¹ The duel, which was apparently settled on the field, occurred on December 16th. J[udith?] Galt, writing to her friend on the 16th of December, noted that "There was a Duel on hand last night between two of the students, they engaged brother A[lexander?] to meet them some where in James City, he according went early this morning and had a long ride fortunate for nothing, I have not heard the particulars, but I believe it was made up on the field."² The students seem to have been more susceptible to this kind of disregard for the College regulations as the holiday season or vacation time approached.

The remaining available evidence for this year relates primarily to President Madison but contained therein are implications, specific and implied, for the College. In a letter of August 10th, a student noted that "The Bishop's family are now in an unusual high flow of spirits occasioned by the sudden and unexpected arrival of Mr. J[ohn] Madison from Baltimore and the E. Indies."³ It had been about one year since John was established in business in Baltimore. How long John visited with his family is not known, but apparently Madison did take his family away from Williamsburg during the vacation period, as had

¹Albert Allmond to Andrew Reid, Jr., 27 November 1807, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):221-222.

²J[udith?] P. Galt to Miss Mary Farquharson, 16 December 1807, Galt Papers, Volume I, Box 1, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

³Albert Allmond to Andrew Reid, Jr., 10 August 1807, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):221.

been his custom in fulfilling his duties as Bishop. Writing to Robert Page of Frederick County, Madison stated that "I was absent from this Place, when your Letter of the 11th of September arrived; & did not return till the first week in October."¹ Almost immediately following his return, Madison dispatched a letter in which he presented himself as a Candidate for the office of Collector in the Port of Norfolk. His reasons were implied, even stated perhaps, in his letter—his love for his son, an appropriate fatherly interest in his welfare, and, possibly, a need for funds:

Dear Sir,

Permit me, without an unnecessary Preface, to present myself to you as a Candidate for the office of Collector in the Port of Norfolk; provided, you have not already designated the Person who is to fill it. I fear the Application will surprize you; it is true, I make it with Reluctance on several Grounds; nor would I have made it, had I not a Son, in his 23 year, regularly educated in one of the first mercantile Houses in Baltimore & is distinguished, I think, for his Intelligence, Integrity & Industry, upon whose assistance I could rely in the Discharge of the Duties required.

Hitherto I have laboured for others; but not for myself. It is not then to be wondered at, that I should seek for an office, which may offer some Emolument, & eventually, perhaps, be confer'd upon my Son. In any Case, I assure myself, that your experienced Goodness & Friendship will excuse this Application. If fortunate, I should rejoice; if otherwise, I still remain equally,

Dr Sir, with the highest Respect & Esteem,

Yr Friend & Svt
J Madison

Should this application be
unsuccessful, let it, if you please,
remain with yourself²

¹J[ames] Madison to Robert Page, Esq., 15 November 1807, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²J[ames] Madison to [———], 7 October 1807, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Was Madison's motivation primarily a personal economic need? If not, why did he apply, or why did he not encourage his son to apply for the position? Could he have harbored the hope that after a brief period of time he could induce his son to refrain from his journeys on the high seas by proffering the position to him? As a parent, this was probably his primary motivation, particularly in light of his health and of the tremendous responsibilities he had already assumed.

In Madison's letter to Robert Page, it is learned that his reason for the long delay in responding to Page's letter of September 11th, for it was then November 15th, was attributable to illness: "I was then [upon his return] attack'd with the Influenza, which was so severe as to render me almost incapable of any Kind of Business 'till very lately."¹ This would mean that in all likelihood Madison was ill at the time the Fall course began, for the College had been in session for about three weeks at the time of his writing. The letter was concerned with business matters of the College and, in all probability, were complications arising from or concerns relating to the lotteries and their financial implications for the College:

I wish very much that the appeal Bond could have been sent to you in Time, as it is of great consequence to the College, that the Principles for which you so justly contend should be decided; for whenever an ultimate Decision is attained, I think it must be in Favour of the College. Mr. Bracken says, that if I had been here when your Letter arrived, there w^d not have been suff. Time to forward the Bond by the Period required. [———] must beg you, however, to renew the Question in such a way as shall seem best to yourself. Col. Breckenridge will also take the first opp^y of trying it; & indeed, as he attends [———] at Harriston, might act in Concert with you.

¹Madison to Page, 15 November 1807, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

The Counties mentioned, on this side the Blue Ridge, have been attached to Mr. Peyton, in this—stead of Mr. Harrison. We hope you will not find it inconvenient to superintend, as heretofore, the Business on your Side.

With Respect to Mr. Gresham's Suit, I really thought, it had been dismiss'd. There is a small Bal. on same, I think, tho' Mr. Holmes seems to think otherwise; but he seems willing to come to a fair Settlement—The Suits had better be discontinued.¹

It would appear that suits were pending, suits were being settled, a lottery was ending, or perhaps a lottery was even beginning—a very uncertain financial base for a College and a somewhat uncomplimentary public image for its leadership. However, a strong leadership position seems to have been assumed by President Madison throughout the year in matters relating to the College and to the state and the nation as well; and leadership postures redounding to the benefit of the College had been assumed by the students and by Professor Girardin. As noted, evidence concerning the leadership posture taken by the Board is not available; it could be assumed that the Board at least played a supportive role as did, perhaps, the other members of the Society.

In the year 1808 the number of students enrolled at the College increased from forty-five to sixty-two.² Three new members were elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors: Alexander D. Galt of Williamsburg,³ Robert Nelson of Williamsburg, and John B. Seawell of Gloucester; and Samuel Tyler presumably continued in his capacity as

¹Ibid.

²Goodwin, Historical Notes; Albert Allmond to Andrew Reid, Jr.; 15 April 1808, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):222.

³He was probably elected to succeed James Minson Galt who died in June 1808.

Rector of the Board.¹ Three members were apparently added to the Faculty, although the position each occupied is not known: [———] Plunket, [———] Turner, and Robert Wash.² Five students were awarded degrees, four receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts: Frederick Campbell, George Loyall, John T. Mason, and Robert Yeatman; and one student receiving the degree of Bachelor of Law, the first to be awarded since 1793 and the second to be awarded in the history of the College according to available evidence.³ One would assume, therefore, that both the Board and the Faculty were active during this year and that both exercised a degree of leadership.

Two events, both of which, though unrelated, involved the College and the community of Williamsburg, were noted in a letter from James Pace, a student,⁴ to Andrew Reid, Jr.:

I have nothing very interesting to inform you except the death of an old and respectable friend Doct. J. M. Galt [elected a member of the Board of Governors and Visitors in 1800⁵], who left us 8 days ago. Bishop Madison preached his funeral sermon on Sunday last when almost every person in the place attended. It is said by judges the sermon was superior to any delivered in this place....

We shall have 2 weddings here in a few days, a ——— and a Mr. [Abner] Calloway, a student,⁶ to Miss Lewis.

¹A Provisional List, pp. 51-55. A student's letter indicates that Samuel Tyler is the Chancellor; this is probably a confusion of titles for the person he determined to be "the head." John M[adison] to Andrew Reid, Jr., 18 January 1808, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):222.

²A Provisional List, p. 50.

³Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 31.

⁵Ibid., p. 52.

⁶Ibid., p. 10.

⁷James Pace to Andrew Reid, Jr., 22 June 1808, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):223.

A strong and, for the most part, mutually advantageous relationship continued to exist between the College and the citizens of Williamsburg although another correspondent of young Reid noted changes both in the students and in the community:

I have received many letters from my correspondents in that place [Williamsburg], since the commencement of the present course. Very different are the times since we were there. The students are more numerous and less intercourse with each other. The girls are as ugly as usual, but little galantry, much study and good order, very few entertainments in town.¹

This observation may have been valid in January; by April, however, a rather serious riot had taken place at the College:

The reverend President is insulted with the epithet of "damned Rascal," the college property is destroyed, and the Bishop threatened with the breaking of his windows. The cause of this was a young man, who had been dismissed from Princeton and brought with him the Princeton dissipation. Several of your old acquaintances with whose characters you were also pretty well acquainted, were his associates in the riot, such as _____, _____, & _____.

Before the expulsion, the number of students amounted to 60 but since it has been diminished to 50. There are none here now remarkable for their talents. One of the expelled (Holmes) was supposed to² be the greatest genius in Virginia. He also came from Princeton.

The reputation of Princeton among some Virginians has been previously noted; and the riot at Princeton in April of 1707, which came to be known as the "Great Rebellion," apparently was long remembered by many. The cause of the riot in question at William and Mary was, according to another correspondent, said to have been associated with liberality and Republicanism. A father, responding to his son's letters of March 21st and of April 28th, noted that he was proud of his son's conduct during the riot:

¹John M[adison] to Andrew Reid, Jr., 18 January 1808, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):222.

²Albert Allmond to Andrew Reid, Jr., 15 April 1808, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):222-223.

I was distressed at the information which you gave me of the Riot in College, but was much pleased at the part you acted, for however I am attached to liberality and Republicanism yet I am equally so to good order, decorum, & a proper degree of subordination. It also gave me great pleasure to hear...the honorable manner in which ...(the Bishop) had mentioned the conduct of yourself and young Croghan. I hope you both will persevere in such laudable conduct.

The position taken by the Faculty was recognized by Joseph Prentis of Suffolk as representing a stronger leadership role than that assumed in previous similar instances: "I regret most sincerely to hear of the late disturbances at William & Mary—The Professors seem to have maintained a bolder ground than heretofore from the Expulsions."²

The riot occurred at a very difficult period in President Madison's life. Young Allmond's letter to Andrew Reid began with the statement: "With respect to the riot which has taken place at college it is my opinion the most despicable thing that ever happened. At a time when the Bishop's family was overwhelmed with grief for the death of their favorite John (whose fate is now pretty well ascertained)."³ In his letter dated March 18th Joseph Prentis, writing to his father, had expressed his sympathy for the family's loss: "I am sorry to hear of Mr. and Mrs. Madison's loss."⁴ The tragedy presumably occurred during the early winter months. It had been only a year and a half since John

¹Judge Thomas Todd to Charles S. Todd, 4 June 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):22.

²Joseph Prentis (II) to Joseph Prentis (I), 18 March 1808, Manuscripts Department, Box 9, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

³Allmond to Reid, 15 April 1808, WMQ 8, 1st ser.(April 1900):222.

⁴Prentis to Prentis, 18 March 1808, Manuscripts Department, Box 9, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

was established in business and only about five months since Madison had applied for the position of Collector in the Port of Norfolk in the hope that the office would eventually be conferred upon his son, John. Family records indicate that John was lost at sea:

My mother had two brothers, James and John....John Madison when quite a young man, sailed as supercargo on a ship bound for East Indies. The ship was never heard from after it left port. My mother, and all thought, that the ship was either lost at Sea, or captured by pirates, who then, a hundred years ago, infested the East India coast.¹

Most records indicate that the Madison's had only one son and one daughter; however, John was twenty-three or twenty-four years old at the time of his death,² and records should indicate that the Madison's had two sons and one daughter. A valid assumption with regard to President Madison's role at the College at this time would be that he was physically and spiritually unable to give the College the attention and leadership it required, and apparently no other member of the Faculty assumed an adequate leadership role; otherwise, the riot, if it had materialized at all, would not have been so serious. If, however, there were only ten explosions, the majority of the students were not involved; and the Faculty apparently did take a strong and firm action concerning the miscreants who were involved.

Insight into the affairs of the College from a parent's point of view is provided through the letters of Judge Thomas Todd of Kentucky to

¹Charles Lewis Scott, "Written in November 1897. A Sketch of my own immediate Family. Written for my grandchildren," p. 5. James M. Owens Collection, Folder 14, Box 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²J[ames] Madison to [———?], 7 October 1807, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

his son, Charles Stewart Todd, March through November of 1808. The concerns expressed in the letters were primarily twofold: the advice of a father to his son regarding the importance of the college years and the never-ending, ever-present concern of parents for funds and for evidence of the development of a sense of financial responsibility in their offspring. Parental advice mingled with fatherly pride were evidenced in each communication and particularly in those concerned with the importance of the college years:

This my dear Son is the golden period for improvement, the succeeding four years, will be the utmost important to you, in the course of your whole life, you are now laying the foundation on which your future prospects thro life depend, the more solid the foundation, the greater the certainty in supporting & rearing the superstructure. This period is to form your character—habits of industry & study are now easily acquired & pursued, which will become familiar & easy & last you forever. If...you neglect them, you fall into idleness, which begets sloth, that engenders dissipation & finally all energy of thought, of character, of respectability is forever gone, no exertion can produce a reformation and you will sink into contempt & misery. I...mention these things...as a caution to you,...I have the utmost confidence in your diligence & application. I hope to hear that you have signalized yourself for your genius and assiduity & that you will be your country's boast.¹

Three months later he wrote that he was pleased with his son's circle of "Acquaintances; it is by associating with the virtuous & respectable part of the community that we learn & imitate laudable Actions, 'til they become habitual & familiar."² By the twenty-third of August, however, his concerns had returned; and his admonitions had gone beyond the verbal stage:

...from the tenor of your letter to me, your Mother & Sisters as well as from other sources, I entertain fears, that you have not been as studious & attentive to your collegiate duties, as you ought

¹Judge Thomas Todd to Charles S[tewart] Todd, 9 March 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):21.

²Todd to Todd, 4 June 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):23.

to have been. You say "the last week or two my attention has been so completely monopolized by the Ladies that I had entirely forgotten the object of my mission here." Surely you have greatly metamorphozed, for not long since, I understood from your letters to some of the family, you were an entire recluse.

The fear that you will go from one extreme to the other, has induced me to procure a friend for you, who will by his experience, his reason & Judgment be able to advise & correct any errors arising from Juvenile propensities. I have solicited the Bishop to take upon himself your entire Guardianship & request that you will pay implicit obedience to his commands. This I have done from abundant caution, not that you require it; but as I am at so great a distance & you so young & entering on scenes of life new & which may give a cost to the character you may assume during the balance of your life. I thought it most prudent that (you) should have a friend on whom you could (rely) for advice—& none more proper than the Bishop whose character deservedly stands high.¹

His letter of September 25th, just a month later, continued in the same vein:

I am much gratified with the account of the hospitable reception you have met with in Virginia but I'm fearful your attention will be too much engross'd with it to attend to your studies. You have not informed me how you passed the examination at the July vacation, your silence forbodes against you, if so my pride will be wounded & I shall attribute your failure to your inattention, as all accounts from every quarter speak well of your capacity. Recollect the honor, the character & reputation of your Country for talent & Genius is in some measure resting on you—pride, ambition, nay duty, demands of you an education. Show the proud Virginian that a child of the forest in the wilde of Kentucky can vie with him in mental acquirements, that nature is as fond & endows, her sons of the West; as liberally, as those of the East.²

Finally, on November 15th, the father received the letter one could have anticipated he would receive from the son and to which he gave the following reply:

I received yours of the 22nd Ultimo by this days mail in which you state great regret & anxiety at what you conceive unfavorable & prejudicial impressions gathered from the general tenor of my let-

¹Todd to Todd, 23 August 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):24-25.

²Todd to Todd, 25 September 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):26.

ter, in which you consider the increase of another Guardian as indication of disapprobation of your conduct. I am sure a second & candid perusal of my letter must remove those impressions....I should have been devoid of Affection, nay of common prudence even as to a ward, had I omitted such precautions—prevention is greatly preferable to correction....to improper or immoral conduct...by [so] doing...we avoid repentance & remorse.

No my Son, you are mistaken in your impressions--your conduct has not been made known to me, as having been culpable,....But why say another Guardian, who was the first. Your letter breathes in a strain of complaints, anxiety & regret, which the subject & measures surely do not Justify. Let us drop the subject.¹

And then for a second time he mentioned that he had never received his son's letter by Mr. Semple, the letter having been first mentioned in his letter of September 25th. Although it could be assumed that President Madison, in a real sense, assumed a guardianship role for all the students at William and Mary, it was perhaps good for Madison himself at this particular time to have been asked to assume a specific guardianship role for young Todd. As will be seen, in time the young man was able to view him as a friend.

The father's guidance, instructions, and remonstrances regarding financial responsibility followed a similar pattern of development in his communications to his son and give some insight into the relative complexity of handling financial matters at this time:

I have written to M^r Adams & enclosed him an order on Col^o Gamble of Richmond for \$35...if I can negotiate a Bill here I will send you \$50 more before I leave this place [Washington City], if not I shall request M^r Adams to furnish you with that sum—my stay here has increased by expenses beyond my calculations & I am fearful I shall not have enough to take me home—write immediately on receipt of this letter & always keep me advised as to your funds, as I wish you not to be in arrears direct your letter to Frankfort, Kentucky, as I shall leave this before your answer can reach me.²

¹Todd to Todd, 15 November 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):27.

²Todd to Todd, 9 March 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):21.

Judge Todd was explicit in detailing his financial arrangements to his son; young Todd was less so in accounting for his expenditures:

I have made an arrangement with M^r George Madison to pay him \$50 for his brother & shall be very glad to do so every year as long as you continue at College. M^r Madison will forward to his brother a receipt for his taxes. I now enclose you fifty dollars in Virginia bank notes, amount, Number & description on the other page. I sent you \$50 from the Federal City & drew an Order on Col^o Gamble of Richmond in favor of M^r Adams for \$35 more which I requested M^r Adams to send you. In your last you mentioned that you had rec^d of M^r Adams \$60 the greater part of which you had spent. I must here remind you of the promise to send me an account of your disbursements, the last seems to be a charge in the lump, without giving the items, this promise I cannot dispense with, because I wish you to be frugal & economical, without being parsimonious or penurious & by keeping an account of the items, which you will frequently review, you¹ will readily discover yourself such as are unnecessary & improper.

At the end of the letter the enclosed bank notes were detailed: 1 Bank Note N^o124.B. dated 2nd Oct^e 1804. \$10; 1 D^oN^o2683.D. 14th Nov 1805—— [\$]20; 1 D^oN^o3246.B. 8th Jan 20 1807——\$50.²

Ten weeks later, receipt of the bank notes had not been acknowledged, nor had a detailed accounting of expenditures been received by Judge Todd. In a rather stern mood, the father wrote to his son:

...these sums debit will be as follows

To this sum advanced when setting out for Williamsburg	\$200.00
To an order on Col ^o Gamble (Richmond).....	35.00
To Cash remitted to you from Federal City.....	50.00
To D ^o settled with M ^r Geo. Madison.....	50.00
To D ^o remitted you in June last.....	50.00

from which you will find that you are only \$25 short of your annual allowance, when you have been absent about eight months only. I have stated this Acc^t merely to bring to your recollection, how necessary it is to be prudent & economical & that upon an equal dividend of my Salary among a wife & five children, allowing \$400 to each I shall have but a scanty sum to bear my expenses in travelling

¹Todd to Todd, 4 June 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):23.

²Ibid.

& attending the several Courts where Official duty requires me. But I will not be parsimonious in my expenditures on the Education of my children, provided I am assured it is not mispent or applied improperly & therefore was I fully satisfied of their application, assiduity & attention, I should not calculate the Cents which it cost; from the tenor of your letter to me,...I entertain fears, that you have not been as studious & attentive to your collegiate duties, as you ought to have been.

It was at this point that Judge Todd asked President Madison to assume the guardianship of his son. A month later he wrote to young Todd, reminding him that in his last letter he had given him a statement of the sums already advanced to him: "...I have now made further remittances to M^r Adams, requesting him to make you such advances as you stand in need of, I have not been able to procure Bank notes, & have imposed on him the trouble of collecting some drafts & fees, which would be inconvenient to you."² In his letter of November 15th, concerned that his remonstrances had not been received in the constructive manner intended, his remarks concerning finances were limited to one sentence: "I presume ere this you have seen or heard of M^r Morris, by him I wrote you & made remittances to M^r Adams, with a request to make you the necessary advances."³

Additional insight into desirable aspects of a curriculum from a parent's point of view is provided in Todd's letters; for in his first letter of March 9th, Todd had mentioned his son's course of studies:

I very much wish that you will study French. I find it spoken by all genteel people & is much used in commercial affairs. I also wish you to learn stenography, it will be of immense importance to

¹Todd to Todd, 23 August 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):24.

²Todd to Todd, 25 September 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):26.

³Todd to Todd, 15 November 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):27.

you in your profession it will enable you to take notes with facility & correctness.¹

This was very sound advice for his son. Whether stenography was available to his son cannot be ascertained definitely, but no other mention of it has been noted in surviving records. (A notebook from physics class in 1808, to be found among the Cary Barraud Papers,² evidences one curricular area that was available in 1808.)³ The next statement in the father's letter confirms the continued existence of flexibility in the curriculum and the apparent ability of the College to meet the needs of the individual student: "You have not informed me in what grade you matriculated, I am anxious to know your standing in College & can thereby judge of your improvement."⁴

One additional letter which portrays parental interest and involvement in the student's studies at the College is available from this period. William Leigh, writing to [J. M.] Galt, commented regarding his son:

I have thought it advisable to take John from his former Teacher [torn] his progress is far from being equal to what might have been expected in the same time—

I think it would not be a bad idea to put him with Mr. Bracken & allow him to regulate his studies. I wish him to commence with the Latin Grammar.⁵

¹Todd to Todd, 9 March 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):22.

²A Provisional List, p. 6.

³Cary Barraud Papers, Manuscripts Department, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

⁴Todd to Todd, 9 March 1808, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):22.

⁵William Leigh to Dr. Galt, [———] 1808, Galt Papers, Vol. I, Box 1, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

A Leigh is not included among the Grammar School students,¹ nor is there a John Leigh included among the alumni for this period. A William Leigh is noted to have attended in 1763/70 and another in 1804.²

Parents of students currently enrolled at William and Mary were not the only persons interested in the education of young men and in the College of William and Mary. In the last will and testament of William Ludwell Lee is the following clause:

...convinced of the importance of education and the advantages which may be derived from a general diffusal of useful information among the mass of society in governments depending for their support on popular opinion, and being desirous of affording some assistance towards the attainment of so desirable an end, I give devise and bequeath to the President, Masters and Professors of Wm & Mary college and their successors in office for ever, five hundred Winchester bushels of Indian corn which is to be paid to them annually on the 25th day of December for the use and benefit of a free School to be established in the centre of James City county, regard being had to its present limits, where the american Language with the elements of mathematics and geography are to be taught and such other branches of useful knowledge as a majority of trustees for the time being may think proper. This Institution is intended solely for the benefit of such persons whose indigent situation forbids them acquiring even the rudiments of an education. One thousand acres of the Hot water tract of Land is by my desire to stand pledged for ever for the full and complete execution of this devise, the bounds of which are to be designated by clear and obvious metes within twelve calendar months after my decease.

Before any benefits could be realized from the will of their benefactor, however, the College again found itself involved in litigation. William Hodgson, executor of the Lee estate, et al, received a favorable ruling from the Chancellor who was "of the opinion that the five hundred Bush-

¹A Provisional List, p. 47.

²Ibid., p. 25.

³William and Mary v. William Hodgson et al, Virginia Court of Appeals, May term, 1808, St. George Tucker Papers, Folder 16, Archives, College of William and Mary.

els of Indian corn in the said will mentioned are not a general charge on the estate of the testator but only on the one thousand acres of land to be laid off from the Hot Water tract in the will mentioned."¹ On petition of the President and Masters of the College, Appellants, the Chancellor admitted an appeal; and the Appellants' counsel, William Randolph, insisted on the following point: "That the annuity is a charge on the estate generally, and cannot be satisfied by a surrender of the one Thousand acres of the Hot Water lands."² On 29 April 1808, Judge Tucker declared the decree erroneous and reversed the decision with costs, having based his decision on the principle that the personal estate must first be charged with the Legacy before the real estate could be so charged.³ His ruling noted further:

...the Chancellor ought to have directed an account of the personal Estate of the Testator William Ludwell Lee to be taken, unless the defendants admit assets in their hands sufficient to provide a permanent fund for the payment of the annuity of five hundred Bushels of Corn according to the directions in the Testators will forever— And that the Comr be directed to take such account accordingly, and further, to make an estimate & report what sum it will be necessary to set apart for that purpose, and to vest the same in such Funds as the Court shall be of opinion will be most likely to secure the regular⁴ payment thereof, according to the Testators directions, forever.

Once again the ruling of the courts favored the College; and in this case, as in previous instances of legal involvement, President Madison's legal training was undoubtedly of value to the College.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Notes and Papers of St. George Tucker relating to William and Mary v. William Hodgson et al, St. George Tucker Papers, Folder 16, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴Ibid.

No other evidence for this year is available at this time. It was a difficult year for President Madison and his family personally; and this undoubtedly was reflected in the attention and leadership Madison was able to give to the College, particularly during the winter months and the early spring. However, the Board must have been active and supportive—three new members were elected; and the Society as well—five young men were awarded degrees; and the College successfully coped with litigation and thereby enhanced its annual financial base. Lacking further evidence to the contrary, one could assume that adequate leadership from those so charged had been provided.

According to evidence available for the year 1809, no new members were elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors nor were there new members added to the Faculty. The College, it would appear, had an enrollment of sixty-three students,¹ five of whom were awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts: Gerard Brandon, John Croghan, John Gaines, Samuel Myers, and Charles Todd.² Also from this year two student notebooks have survived. One book, consisting of one hundred fifty-six pages of notes and four loose pieces, is titled "A Compendium of the Lectures on Experimental Philosophy delivered by James Madison D.D. Professor of William & Mary College in Philosophy, Belle lettres & Politics also President of said College 1809. Transcribed by W. N.

¹Goodwin, Historical Notes.

²Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

Edwards. Student during the Course of 1809."¹ Approximately half of this notebook is blank, with three pages of notes followed by a blank leaf at the end of the volume.

The other notebook contains notes on natural philosophy taken from the lectures of President Madison by Robert D. Murchie,² a student at William and Mary in 1809.³ The pages of the notebook are numbered through page 202 in the right and/or left upper corner with numbers circled, e.g. (5), or half-circled, e.g. (1); the handwriting is beautiful; the paragraphing or divisions are very clear; the charts, graphs, et cetera are beautifully executed; and the lectures are numbered in Roman numerals with the title of the lecture indicated. Following page 202 several pages have been deleted. The book has been turned upside down; and, beginning at the back cover; are notes on elocution; a list of members of the Manchester troop of calvary, 1821; a letter from Robert D. Murchie to Mr. Thomas P. Coke in Philadelphia asking for a position for his nephew, James A. Clarke, 10 December 1822; and various memoranda, some in the form of a diary, for the years 1820-1824. All of these notations were apparently made by Robert D. Murchie (according to the archival notations); however, the handwriting is not the same. Of interest, perhaps, from the standpoint of what comprised a course in natural philosophy, is the "Index," listed vertically on page <vi> of the notebook:

¹Notebook of W. N. Edwards, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Notebook of Robert D. Murchie, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³A Provisional List, p. 29.

Lecture 1st introductory...Page 1; Of matter on bodies in general... 8; Chemical affinity...13; Geanitation...19; Magnetism...28; Motion ...37; Central forces or doctrine of circular motion...46; Of bodies following perpendicularly...51; Of pendulums...56; Mechanical powers ...61; Compound mechanics...67; Wheel carriages...71; Electricity... 79; Of the two electricities...86; Of electricity communicated to electrics...87; Of the effects of electricity upon plants vegetables &c...90; Galvanism...98; Pneumatics...105; Of the properties of air...112; Of air as necessary to combustion &c...117; Of best... 122; Introductory to airs...134; Of some of the gasses...138; Of Nitrous air...147; Of Evaporation...154; Of Winds...158; Of Hydrostatics... 164; Of the densities and specific gravities of bodies... 169; Of Hydraulics...174; On Optics-Light...183; Colours...192; Of the manner in which rays of light are refracted in passing through glasses of different forms...195; Of the senses in general...198; Of Microscopes and Telescopes...201¹

Some of these are doubtless the same lectures which inspired the young students to construct and attempt to fly their balloons, with eventual success, in 1801.

The newly elected President of the United States in 1809 was not an alumnus of William and Mary; but he was a Republican, and he was the second cousin² of her President who wrote two letters to the United States' President James Madison in 1809; or at least, two have survived. Both letters exhibit Madison's continued interest and influence in national affairs, and this interest was undoubtedly communicated to his students. On February 8, Madison congratulated his cousin on his election to the Presidency; he stated that he believed the Congressional debates indicated that war was inevitable, and he gave Madison an introduction to a Mr. Crittenden who desired to procure a military commis-

¹Notebook of Robert D. Murchie, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²James Madison, Montpelier [sic] to [Robert] Walsh, [Philadelphia], 15 July 1831, Manuscripts, Madison Papers, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

sion.¹ A few months later, on May 14th, he introduced a Mr. Greenbow to Madison and expressed his approbation concerning the wisdom and sound policy of the government's foreign relations.²

Students were apparently involved in one duel which required Faculty action, namely, expulsion; and another duel was apparently delayed, and perhaps averted, by Madison's awareness and decisive leadership tactics. Concerning the expulsion, Madison, on May 31st, wrote Thomas Jefferson a letter of introduction to William C. Rives, a student at the College in 1809 and again in 1812.³

Mr. W^m Rives, the son of Mr. Rives of Nelson County will present this to you. He has lately been obliged to leave College, on acc^t of his yielding to that false notion of Humans, which is, unfortunately, so prevalent. The Sentence of the College was unavoidable, tho pass'd with sincere Regret; & I take a particular Pleasure in giving you the full assurance, that I believe him to be a not only youth of the best Disposition, & of manners always polite and engaging; but also, that he has been richly gifted by nature with a fine Genius, & with that mental Energy, which merits the highest Cultivation. His Father, as well as himself, is anxious that the Expulsion should not operate against him in your Decision with Respect to a Proposition, which will be submitted to you, & therefore, it is that I have made this Representation. I feel, also, a warm Interest in his future Welfare; & am persuaded, that under your Auspices, we⁴ may expect that he will become one of the Ornaments of his Country.

Young Rives' expulsion was probably on account of dueling. He studied law under Jefferson's guidance and did become one of the country's ornaments, as Madison expected he might. He became United States Sena-

¹Calendar of Correspondence of James Madison, p. 499.

²Ibid.

³A Provisional List, p. 34.

⁴J[ames] Madison to [Thomas Jefferson], 31 May 1809, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

tor from Virginia and was prominent in the political life of Virginia for fifty years.¹ Madison concluded his letter to Jefferson by congratulating him on the soundness of the foreign relations of his administration, noting:

One Triumph only is wanting; & that, I think, is even now at our very Doors. The French Emperor, if consistent, must also abrogate his ingenious decrees. We shall then hear what those will say, who are so emphatically styled—"Their Friends"—by British orators. But really, we appear to have intermingled with our social Connections such a mass of Corruption, that it may be doubted whether a sufficient Antiseptic [sic] can be found to counteract its putrid Tendency.²

The delayed and possibly averted duel involved young Charles Todd for whom Madison had accepted Guardianship. Judge Todd wrote to his son on 15 May concerning finances and a delayed remittance which he had been "afraid to remit by mail as so many depredations have been committed on it."³ He discouraged young Todd's returning to Kentucky to visit unless he did not intend to return to Williamsburg. If he did decide to visit, he advised him to do so by land: "...the route is certainly objectionable at the season of the year in which you contemplate returning, the River will be so low that you cannot pass down by water, & there is no stage that runs from Pittsburg Westwardly."⁴ Young Todd, as noted, received the Bachelor of Arts degree, presumably in July or August; and just when he returned to Kentucky is not specifically indi-

¹Note, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(July 1925):156.

²Madison to [Jefferson], 31 May 1809, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Judge Thomas Todd to Charles S. Todd, 15 May 1809, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):28.

⁴Ibid., pp. 28-29.

cated, but on 17 September President Madison wrote to Judge Todd from Fincastle:

The sincere Regard which I have for your Son, both on Account of his Virtues & his Talents will not permit me to withhold a Communication which must be very interesting to you, & which he would, most probably, not make. Whilst at College a Disagreement took Place between himself & another Student. A Challenge ensued. Your son, very correctly, postponed a Meeting until the Term at College was closed. I had too good Reason to believe that a Challenge had been given & that your Son, yielding to the dreadful Custom which has become so prevalent, would meet his Adversary soon after he left College. Under this Impression, I had him bound for one Year & became his Surety. But I fear an Engagement exists, by which the Parties are to meet in Tennessee, at the Expiration of their respective Recognizance; indeed, from the Conversation which I have held with a very respectable Student, I think there is little Doubt of such an Engagement. In this Situation, you will best know what precautionary Measures ought to be adopted & I do hope, will be able to avert the Calamity which might otherwise ensue.

You will consider this Communication as proceeding altogether from the most friendly Disposition towards your Son & I trust, he also will not view it in any other Light.¹

Charles Todd continued his education as a "Student at Law at Litchfield, Conn., 1810-11";² and, as will be seen, he and President Madison remained friends.

In spite of the responsibilities of Bishop, President, and Professor and in spite of declining health, Madison continued to give a great deal of himself to the College and to the students and continued to exercise a decided leadership role in promoting the general welfare of both. The increased enrollment and awarding of degree to candidates successfully completing degree requirements would indicate supportive, and perhaps active, leadership roles on the part of the Board and of the

¹James Madison to Judge [Thomas] Todd, 17 September 1809, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Note, WMQ 22, 1st ser.(July 1913):20.

Society. No other evidence for this year has been noted in the research.

In the year 1810, a paucity of evidence relating directly to the history of the College is available. On the basis of evidence that is available no new members were added to the Faculty;¹ however, the possible resignation of one professor, John Bracken, was indicated in a letter from J[udith] P. Galt in Williamsburg to Alexander D. Galt, a member of the Board of Governors and Visitors, who was at the time of her writing at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston: "Mr. Bracken intends to give up his place at the College."² Mr. Bracken did not resign, but research has provided no other evidence which could shed additional light on the possibility of the resignation of the Grammar School Professor. It has been noted that a short time earlier a notice indicating the closing of a school with which L. H. Girardin was closely affiliated appeared in The Virginia Patriot:

It is hereby agreed, that all contracts or copartnerships existing between L. H. Girardin and D. Doyle, as well as between L. H. Girardin, D. Doyle, and John Wood, as joint teachers of the school; commonly known by the name of Girardin's Academy, cease to exist on the first day of September, 1810. As witness our hands this 20th day of May, 1810.

L. H. Girardin
David Doyle
John Wood³

¹A Provisional List, pp. 49-50.

²J[udith] P. Galt to Dr. A. D. Galt, 22 October 1810, Galt Papers, Volume I, Box 1, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

³The Virginia Patriot, 1 June 1810.

Apparently this school was for the instruction of "young ladies and gentlemen in the same buildings...[but] in separate apartments."¹ Whether Mr. Girardin did this in addition to his responsibilities at the College is not known; one would assume, lacking evidence to the contrary, that he was still a member of the Society and was still Professor of Romance Languages and of Natural History.

The election of one new member of the Board of Governors and Visitors, Gowin L. Corbin of York,² indicates that the Board was active to some degree. The enrollment at the College had declined slightly, from sixty-three students to fifty-seven students.³ One could conjecture that the enrollment decline was in the number of students enrolled in the Grammar School, a possible reason for Professor Bracken's possible intention to resign. There was an increase, however, in the number of students receiving degrees from five to seven, six of whom received the Bachelor of Arts degree: Dabney Browne, Ferdinand Stuart Campbell, George Croghan, Francis Gilmer, Homer Inman, and William W. Taylor; and one who received the degree, Bachelor of Law, William B. Page.⁴ Among the students at the College was one young man from Georgia, Robert G. Scott,⁵ who, according to a letter written by one of the residents of Williamsburg to a friend, won a promise of marriage from President Madison's daughter, Susan:

¹Ibid.

²A Provisional List, p. 52.

³Goodwin, Historical Notes.

⁴Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

⁵A Provisional List, p. 36.

...but there is one young lady here who I know you have heard of,¹ Miss Susan Madison she was engaged you recollect to Ned Johnson; she appears determined to have a student from one of the southern states, for she is now mortgaged to a Mr. Scott from Georgia; and it is said they are to be married as soon as he has completed his education; don't you think he has come a great way for a wife? I suppose he thought it best to kill two birds with one stone, get a sweet² girl and his learning, as your old Frank said, at the same time.

The letter did not communicate idle gossip; Susan did marry young Robert Scott the following year.

As has been noted, among the students enrolled at the College during so many recent years were some students who yielded to the "dreadful Custom which has become so prevalent,"³ as President Madison usually referred to the custom of dueling. In spite of the strong leadership posture assumed by President Madison, the Society, and the Board regarding discipline, it would appear that among some of the citizenry

¹No mention is made of a Ned Johnson among students noted in A Provisional List; perhaps he was a resident of Williamsburg although the author's statements would seem to indicate he was or had been a student. The President's daughter must have been attractive and popular among the students. Her son, Charles Lewis Scott, included in his notes written for his grandchildren these comments: "My mother was a belle in her day, and was much courted and admired by prominent and distinguished men, who were students at William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va., when her father, Bishop James Madison, was President. I recollect that when I was representative in Congress from California in 1857, being introduced to the distinguished and venerable United States Senator from Kentucky, the Honl. John J. Crittenden, and after being introduced he remarked 'Do you know, young man, that I came very near being your father?' 'How was that, Senator?' I replied. 'Well,' says he 'I loved and courted your mother, but your father was a better looking man and carried off the prize.'" Charles Lewis Scott, "A Sketch of my own immediate Family," p. <5>. James M. Owens Collection, Folder 14, Box 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Mrs. Elizabeth B. Kennon to Ellen Mordecai, 15 October 1800, VMH 32(July 1924):276.

³James Madison to Judge Todd, 17 September 1809, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

of Virginia, the prevalence of dueling at the College had created a climate of apprehension concerning the safety of their sons if they attended William and Mary. This can be noted in the correspondence of one grandmother in Alexandria who preferred to send her sixteen year old grandson to Carlisle College in Pennsylvania, stating that "her objection to Princetonn Colledge [was that]...'atheistical principals prevails there'—to William & Mary Colledge...'so many young men have fallen in fighting duels that I am frightened for the safety of the lad....'"¹ Had the prevalence of dueling at William and Mary created a concern among the citizenry which now superseded earlier concerns regarding deistic and atheistic teachings and tendencies at the College? To this grandmother, at least, it would appear to be so; otherwise the prevalence of both atheistic and deistic tendencies and dueling might have been noted in her objections. If her fears were widespread among the populace, the enrollment at the College could be expected to decline even more.

Surviving letters written by President Madison during this year do not relate directly to the history of the College but do give insight into Madison's interests, into his church-related responsibilities and the manner in which he expedited these responsibilities, and into the fact that the College's President was still cognizant of and still very much a part of the national and international scene. Among these is a letter dated June 16th to J. C. Lettsom in London which gives insight into the economic conditions in America at the time and into America's

¹Thomas Cruse to James Hamilton, Alexandria, 25 February 1810, Box cf., Manuscripts Department, 'Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

reluctance to be drawn into the wars of Europe. Madison noted that if, as he believed she would, America had the wisdom to adhere to the system which had previously directed her conduct,

...she cannot be drawn into the wars of Europe. She has, within herself, all the resources which national felicity requires. Her manufactures have taken an astonishing turn, and are rapidly advancing. We shall soon be perfectly independent of other nations for every conveniency; and though the true interest of this rising empire, so far as opulence may be an object, would not encourage too great an extension of manufactures, yet the preservation of peace will more than compensate for the loss of pecuniary gain.¹

"How long will the savage trade of war interrupt that beneficent trade, which nature exhorts her children to cultivate with each other!"² was Madison's response to the loss of a package which had accompanied Lettsom's letter to him. (The letter had been written in January 1810, and had just been received by Madison.) He regretted having "lost the pleasure which I should have derived from a view of your unremitted exertions in the cause of humanity...."³ The lost material was apparently related to the subject of a previously noted treatise on "the toleration of slavery in America,"⁴ a treatise Madison had received from Lettsom in 1804. Madison's letter also noted that he had published a map of Virginia "upon a large scale, which has been neatly engraved, and well finished; and have felt a desire to forward a copy to you; but such is the state of intercourse with Europe, that I have not...hear[d] of a

¹J[ames] Madison to Dr. [J. C.] Lettsom, 16 June 1810, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Dr. [J. C.] Lettsom to Rev. J. Madison, 12 December 1804, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

direct communication with you."¹ Madison apparently had not corresponded with Lettsom for some time, for his map was published in 1806. A second surviving letter relating to matters of national import was written to his cousin, President James Madison. Madison's response concerned, in part, an applicant for aid who, Madison had determined, was not entitled to aid. In this letter Madison also informed his cousin that all parties approved the measures recently adopted with respect to West Florida.²

A surviving letter concerned with Madison's church-related responsibilities was written in response to William Meade's³ queries regarding ordination vows in the Episcopal Church. Meade's queries related to general rules of conduct to which a candidate would be expected to subscribe, adherence to the Book of Common Prayer, the use of the Church buildings by other societies, and the attitude of the Church with regard to occupational pluralism. President Madison's responses respectively were that the candidate would conform to the discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and promise to conform to the canons at the time of his ordination; that an adherence to the Book of Common Prayer was required wherever the situation of the Church would permit but no oath was administered or required; that the general rule regarding the use of the Church by other societies was often dispensed with if the preacher were known to be of

¹Madison to Lettsom, 16 June 1810, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Calendar of Correspondence of James Madison, p. 499.

³William Meade later became Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Virginia.

respectable character and/or if the party wishing to use it would assist in its preservation, noting that too often the Episcopal Churches were now used entirely by other sects; and finally, that the canon never intended that a minister be prevented from following any reputable occupation.¹ Evidence indicating that at this time President Madison was still active as rector of the Church-on-the-Main is given by Meade who noted in his writings years later that a young friend of his "who was in Williamsburg about the year 1810, being desirous of hearing the oratory of Bishop Madison, had with that end in view gone out once or twice to the old Church on the Main, at which Bishop Madison held services regularly, as difficult as it must have been to get out to the "Old Church."² Madison must have been a man of true dedication and inexhaustible energy.

As the year drew to a close, it would appear from the available evidence that Madison was still functioning in a leadership role and that both the Society and the Board of Governors and Visitors were functioning entities giving at least some support and perhaps providing some leadership. Just when Professor Girardin's school had begun operation and why it ceased its operation in 1810 is not clear. However, it would appear that Professor Girardin was a decided asset to the College and to the community of Williamsburg. His involvement in planning and executing the second centesimal celebration, in 1807, of the founding of

¹J[ames] Madison to [William Meade], 10 October 1810. Right Rev. J. Johns, A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade (Baltimore: Innes & Company, 1867), pp. 47-48.

²William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, [1857]), 1:95.

Virginia at Jamestown has already been noted;¹ and the Virginia historian, Earl Gregg Swem, notes that a literary magazine, the Amoenitates, was "a project of L. H. Girardin....[and that] Girardin wrote the fourth volume of Burk's History of Virginia [sic] with the help of Skelton Jones and with suggestions from Thomas Jefferson."² The President and the Faculty of William and Mary did continue to provide leadership for the College and for Virginia as well.

The year 1811 was apparently a year of growth for the College; and President Madison, in spite of declining health, was active in his several areas of endeavor including the College, the Church, and scientific investigations. A letter written by Madison to one of his former students, none other than young Charles Todd for whom he had acted as guardian—by parental request, evidences Madison's continued interest in his students following their graduation and gives some insight into Madison's views regarding a liberal and meaningful education. Young Todd had gone to Litchfield, Connecticut, to study law in 1811 instead of returning to William and Mary; and Madison had apparently received two letters from him at the time of his writing, for he apologized for not having acknowledged "both your favours,...long before this time."³ He noted that he had resolved to write to him several times:

¹Virginia Argus, 1 May 1807.

²Note 1, "L. H. Girardin," WMQ 3, 2nd ser.(January 1923):50.

³James Madison to C. S. Todd, [———] 1811. In Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, 5:324.

...but ill health and much occupation, together with the necessity of taking my usual exercise, always defeated my intentions. Let me assure you, however, that I felt a sincere pleasure in your communications, and that few considerations are more grateful to me than those testimonies of esteem and friendship which I occasionally receive from those who have been students in College.

After commenting on the number of students at the College and characterizing them to some degree, Madison continued, noting the methodology used in the law class by Professor Nelson and expressing his own views regarding a liberal education:

The Law students, I find, prefer the method which Judge Nelson here pursues, and which is different from that you mention. I should think an advantage would result from the full illustration of general principles, by referring to opposite cases.

I hope you do not confine yourself to the Law, but take a wide range of Belle Lettres, History, and the best writers on Natural Law. There are some excellent natural philosophers most probably in your vicinity. Chemistry and Natural History should form a principal portion of the study of young men of capacity.²

Just why President Madison would advise a young man who had received the Bachelor of Arts degree from William and Mary in 1809 and who was currently engaged in the study of law not to concentrate on law is not clear. Perhaps, due to ill health and his burden of responsibilities, Madison had forgotten the young man had completed the Bachelor of Arts degree; or, perhaps, he felt the young man was capable of more than the study of law or the curriculum at Litchfield would require of him and was advising him to use his opportunity to the greatest possible extent. The latter was probably the case. Many years later Todd himself commented on Madison's continued interest in his students after graduation:

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

After I left College and was a student at Law in Litchfield, Conn., I had the honour of his correspondence, in which he manifested toward me the same friendly regard and deep interest in my welfare, which he had uniformly evinced while I sustained to him the relation of a pupil.¹

In addition to his responsibilities at the College, Madison was still active as Rector of the Church-on-the-Main Parish and as Bishop of Virginia. On 24 February 1811, he ordained William Meade with whom he had corresponded about four months earlier regarding requirements for ordination vows in the Episcopal Church. Of his ordination Meade, who later became Bishop of Virginia, comments that "In the month of Feby. 1811, I proceeded on horse-back to Wmbg., about two hundred miles, and on Sunday the 24th, a clear cold morning, was ordained."² His examination, which took place at the Bishop's before breakfast, was conducted by Bishop Madison and Rev. Bracken. Afterwards he notes that,

As we went down to the Church [Church-on-the-Main] companies of students with guns on their shoulders, and dogs at their sides, met us on their way to the country, attracted by the frosty morning which was favorable to the chase; and at the same time one of the citizens was filling his ice-house. On arriving at the Church, we found it in a wretched condition, with broken windows, and a gloomy comfortless aspect. The congregation which assembled, consisted of two ladies and about fifteen gentlemen, nearly all of whom were relatives and acquaintances. The morning service being over, the ordination and communion were administered, and then I₃ was put into the pulpit to preach—there being no ordination sermon.

According to available evidence, this was Bishop Madison's first ordination since 1800 or possibly 1804.⁴

¹Hon. C. S. Todd to [Rev. William B. Sprague], 9 October 1849. In Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, 5:323.

²William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, 1:29.

³Ibid.

⁴From George Burgess' recording of ordinations of clergy during the years 1791-1809; reproduced as an appendix to Kenneth W. Cameron's

A letter from the Right Reverend William White of Pennsylvania to Bishop Madison evidences the depressing aspects of his responsibilities as Bishop at this time:

The situation of the Church in Virginia is a Subject of great Grief, in every District of our Communion. It is understood, that you have in vain endeavoured to gather a Convention for several years successfully.¹ Will you permit a Brother Bp. to suggest a Remedy of the Evil.²

He proceeded to suggest that Madison not adhere to the quorum of forty required in the Act of Incorporation, which had been repealed; that he consider the Constitution defunct; and that he form "anew a Convention consisting of those Clergymen & Deputies of Congregations however far, who have Zeal enough to step forward to keep the Church from sinking."³ He stated that he felt free to suggest this because he believed it to be the "very Measure which the General Convention would set on foot, if there were no Bp. in Virginia."⁴ He further noted that in doing this, the General Convention "would be doing no more than what is done by any

Early Anglicanism in Connecticut, in which it is noted that the ordination in 1804 may have been performed by another bishop. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

¹A notice which appeared in The Virginia Patriot, 1 June 1810, was probably one such attempt to gather a Convention for the Episcopal Church in Virginia: "The subscribers to the Protestant Episcopal Church, are requested to meet at the Capitol, on Saturday the 2d of June, at 12 o'clock, when business of consequence relative to the church, will be submitted to their consideration."

²Rt. Rev. William White to Bishop James Madison, 6 June 1811, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Rt. Rev. William White to Bishop James Madison, 6 June 1811, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴Ibid.

other religious Society, which existing in some of the States thinks it proper to extend their Con[——?] into any other State, agreeably to the religious Liberty possessed by all."¹ In 1793, only three years after his Ordination, Madison, concerned about the declining numbers in the Episcopal Church in Virginia, had written to White:

Methodism gains ground daily among our Flocks in this State. Something must be done, more than has yet been tried, to avert its Progress I think the Republishing, with additions "An Address to y^e Presbyterians & Independents of N. England" said to be written by Bp. Seabury. It contains many just & useful Observations & if suited to our Meridian, might be very useful.²

Madison's having served the Church during the period when many Virginians were fearful of the episcopacy made his tenure as Bishop an even more difficult task.

Evidence of Madison's continued active interest in scientific investigations is noted in a letter to Jefferson concerning some observations apparently made by Jefferson "upon the late solar eclipse."³ Madison had sent the observations to one W. Lambert in Washington, had requested him to make a calculation of the longitude of Monticello based on the observations, and, having received the calculations, was forwarding them to Jefferson. Madison observed that "Mr. Blackburn, the Math'l. Professor, is also a good calculator; but he is so engaged that I know not when he will attempt a similar Deduction."⁴ In what Mr. Blackburn

¹Ibid.

²J[ames] Madison to Rt. Rev. William White, 7 January 1793, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³J[ames] Madison to [Thomas Jefferson], 19 November 1811, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴Ibid.

was engaged other than teaching at the College is not known, but surely teaching alone would not have been so all-consuming. Madison noted that "The Facility & accuracy of Mr. L. in astronomical calculation is very remarkable....Mr. Lambert's Paper is drawn up more fully than may appear necessary; but it seems to test the Accuracy of the apparently [———?] rules given by celebrated astronomers."¹ The observations for Monticello were noted as being:

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Monticello} \quad 78^{\circ} \quad 35' \quad 10'' \\ \quad \quad \quad 76^{\circ} \quad 56' \\ \hline \quad \quad \quad 1 : 39 : 10 \quad 2 \end{array}$$

Madison concluded his letter by noting his own observations "upon the solar Eclipse of 1806, the end of which was accurately noted, & the Time well ascertained, Williamsburg is 5 L. 17' 4" from Paris, 9' 20" E. of Greenwich which compared with the Long of Monticello gives the strait [———?] distance, I believe, very accurately, or rather nearly."³

A very important event, and perhaps the most important event this year in the life of President Madison, was the marriage of his daughter, Susan Randolph, to Robert Gomain Scott, a student at William and Mary,⁴ on the evening of January 31st. The Reverend John Bracken performed the ceremony,⁵ but whether it was performed at the College or

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 36.

⁵"Married. On the evening of the 31st of January, in Williamsburg, Virginia, by the Rev. John Bracken, Mr. Robert Scott of Georgia, to Miss Susan R. Madison, daughter of Bishop Madison." National Intelligencer, 12 February 1811, James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

at Bruton Parish is not known. A letter written by James Madison to his daughter on the occasion of her marriage gives valuable insight into the character and the wisdom of this rather remarkable man and is, therefore, noted here in its entirety. William and Mary was indeed fortunate to have had him as her president during this very difficult period in her history:

My Dear

You have just entered into that state which is replete with happiness or misery. The issue Depends upon that prudent, amiable, uniform conduct, which wisdom and virtue so strongly recommend, on the one hand, or on that imprudence which want of reflection or passion may prompt, on the other.

You are allied to a man of honor, and of an open and generous disposition. You have therefore, in your power, all the essential ingredients of domestic happiness, it cannot be marred if you now reflect upon that system of conduct which you ought invariably to pursue—if you now see clearly the path from which you will resolve never to deviate. Our conduct is often the result of whim or caprice, often such as will give us many a pang, unless we see beforehand, what is always the most praiseworthy, and the most essential to happiness.

The first maxim which you should impress deeply upon your mind, is never to attempt to controul your husband, by opposition of any kind, which is attended with an angry look or expression. The current of his affections is suddenly stopped, his attachment is weakened; he begins to feel an indisposition the most pungent, he is belittled even in his own eyes; and be assured, the wife who once excites those sentiments in the breast of a husband, will never regain the high ground which she might and ought to have retained. When he marries her, if he be a good man, he expects from her smiles, not frowns, he expects to find in her one who is not to controul him—not to take from him the freedom of acting as his own judgment shall direct: but one who will place such confidence in him as to believe that his prudence is his best guide. Little things, what in reality are mere trifles in themselves, often produce bickerings and even quarrels. Never permit them to be a subject of dispute, yield them with pleasure, with a smile of affection. Be assured that one difference outweighs them all a thousand, or ten thousand times. A difference with your husband ought to be considered as the greatest calamity—as one that is to be most studiously avoided, guarded against, it is a demon which must never be permitted to enter a habitation, where all should be peace, unimpaired confidence, and heartfelt affection. Besides, what can a woman gain by her opposition or her differences? Nothing. But she loses everything; she loses her husband's respect for her virtue,

she loses his love and with that all prospect of future happiness. She created her own misery and then utters idle and silly complaints but utters them in vain. The love of a husband can be retained, only by the high opinion which he entertains of his wife's goodness of heart, of her amiable disposition, of the sweetness of her temper, of her prudence, and of her devotion to him. Let nothing, upon any occasion, ever lessen that opinion. On the contrary it should augment every day: he should have much more reason to admire her for those excellent qualities which will cast a lustre over any virtuous woman, when her personal attractions are no more.

Has your husband staid out longer than you expected? When he returns receive him as the partner of your heart. Has he disappointed you in something you expected, whether of ornament or furniture or of any conveniency? Never evince discontent, receive his apology with cheerfulness. Does he when you are a house keeper, invite company without informing you of it, or bring home with him a friend? Whatever may be your repast, however scanty it may be, however impossible it may be to add to it, receive them with a pleasing countenance, adorn your table with cheerfulness, give to your husband and to your company a hearty welcome; it will more than compensate for every other deficiency; it will more evince your love for your husband, good sense in yourself, and that politeness of manners which acts as the most powerful charm, it will give to the plainest fare a zest superior to all that luxury can boast. Never be disappointed on any occasion of this nature.

In the next place, as your husband's success in his profession will depend upon his popularity, and as the manners of his wife have no little influence in extending or lessening the respect and esteem of others for her husband, you should take care to be affable and polite to the poorest as well as the richest. A reserved haughtiness is a sure indication of a weak mind and an unfeeling heart.

With respect to your servants, teach them to respect and love you, while you expect from them a reasonable discharge of their respective duties. Never tease yourself or them by scolding; it has no other effect than to render them discontented and impertinent. Admonish them with a calm firmness.

Cultivate your mind by the perusal of those books which instructs while they amuse. Do not devote much of your time to novels, there are a few which may be useful in improving and in giving a higher tone to our moral sensibility; but they tend to vitiate the taste and to produce a disrelish for substantial intellectual food. Most plays are of the same cast; they are not friendly to delicacy which is one of the elements of the female character. History, Geography, Poetry, Moral Essays, Biography, Travels, Sermons, and other well written religious productions will not fail to enlarge your understanding, to render you a more agreeable companion, and to exalt your virtue—A woman Devoid of rational ideas of religion, has no security for her Virtue; it is sacrificed to her passions, whose voice, not that of God, is her only governing principle. Besides in those hours of calamity to which families must be exposed, where will she find support, if it be not in her just reflections upon the all ruling Providence which governs the universe, whether animate or inanimate.

Mutual politeness between the most intimate friends, is essential to that harmony, which should never be once broken or interrupted. How important then is it between man and wife! The more warm the attachment, the less will either partner bear to be slighted or treated with the smallest degree of rudeness or inattention. This politeness then, if it be not in itself a Virtue, is at least the means of preventing discontent, and even quarrels; it is the aid of intercourse, it removes asperity, and gives to every thing a smooth, an even, and a pleasing movement.

I will only add, that matrimonial hapness [sic] does not depend upon wealth, but in minds properly tempered and united to our respective situations. Competency is necessary, all beyond that point is ideal— —Do not suppose, however, that I would not advise your husband to augment his prosperity by all honest and commendable means. I would wish to see him actively engaged in such a pursuit, because engagement, as productive employment in obtaining some laudable end, is essential to happiness. In the attainment, of a fortune, by honorable means and particularly by professional exertion, a man derives a particular satisfaction in self applause, as well as from all the increasing estimation in which he is held by those around him.

In the management of your domestic concerns, let prudence and wise economy prevail. Let neatness, order, and judgment be seen in all your different departments. Unite liberality with a just frugality. Always reserve something for the hand of Charity; and never let your door be closed to the voice of suffering humanity. Your servants, in particular, will have the strongest claim on your charity; let them be well clothed, nursed in sickness, and never unjustly treated.

Father.¹

Not everyone would agree with the ideas proposed by President Madison for his daughter's reflection, but everyone would certainly benefit from having the opportunity of accepting and/or rejecting, upon careful reflection, the thoughts, and the wisdom, which this father shared with his daughter at the time of her marriage.

And now to return to the affairs of the College itself. No new members were elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors this year;²

¹Bishop Madison to his only daughter, on the occasion of her marriage, [January] 1811. Virginia Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Richmond, Virginia.

²A Provisional List, pp. 51-55.

but the Board apparently was active, for two new members were elected to the Faculty—Ferdinand Stuart Campbell as Professor of Humanity and Robert Nelson as Professor of Law.¹ Both of the new professors were graduates of the College, Campbell having received his B.A. degree the preceding year and Nelson having been awarded the degree in 1798.²

The College had apparently been granted the authority to have another Lottery. Notice of the first drawing appeared in The Virginia Patriot on July 19th:

William & Mary College/Lottery of 90 Nos./First Drawing

The first drawing of this Lottery agreeable to notice, took place this day at the Capitol, under the superintendence of several magistrates of this city, and in the presence of a number of Citizens--When agreeable to the system pursued in Furo[?] in the conducting the drawing of this pl[?] of Lottery, the different numbers from 1 to 90 inclusive was publicly shown and put into a glass wheel, from whence, a boy blind-folded drew the following five numbers:

33, 87, 13, 70, 78.

Persons holding tickets with one of the above numbers will be entitled to receive fifteen times the cost of one number—Those holding tickets of two numbers of the above will be entitled to receive two hundred and forty times the cost of those numbers, if of three numbers four thousand five hundred times their cost, and if of four numbers forty thousand times their cost.—All prizes will be paid upon application either at the offices at which the tickets was bought, or Simon Black, Jun. Richmond, or of Simon Black, Williamsburg. The second drawing will take place on Thursday, the 22d August next. Tickets for sale at the different Stationary stores in this city. The proprietor in offering this Lottery to the public, felt great doubts as to the success that might attend it, owing to the difference that existed between this and the Lottery generally pursued in this country, but the event thus far has proved that his fears were groundless, and that the good sense of the people will always predominate over prejudice, which has been fully evinced by the great demand for tickets for the first drawing. The very laudable purpose to which the funds arising from this Lottery, are to be applied, affords the most pleasing presages of the liberal support

¹Ibid., pp. 49-50; Richmond Enquirer, 14 August 1812.

²Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

of the friends of William and Mary College—particularly, when superadded herein, is the advantages resulting to adventurers—of risking but a small sum for the chance of obtaining a capital prize.

Richmond, July 10, 1811.¹

It is interesting and perhaps important to note that the conducting of the Lottery had been removed from the College and from the responsibility of those closely affiliated with the College. The Lottery was apparently conducted in Richmond. No other evidence concerning the financial status of the College is available. However, the number of students enrolled, sixty-six,² represented the highest enrollment since 1801 when seventy-one students were enrolled.³ Madison himself noted in a letter:

The Law Class this year has been more numerous than usual. A few promise well. Among the other students who also have been rather more numerous than customary, there are several who have distinguished themselves for their real progress in science as well as moral conduct.⁴

In addition to the study of science, a subject of interest to the students during this year, apparently, was the franchise. One study of the franchise in Virginia notes that during this year and continuing through 1812, "In William and Mary College, the great school of politics of the time, the broadening of the suffrage and universal suffrage were popular topics for debate...."⁵

¹The Virginia Patriot, 19 July 1811.

²Goodwin, Historical Notes.

³Ibid.

⁴James Madison to C. S. Todd, [———] 1811. In Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, 5:324.

⁵Julius F. Prufer, "The Franchise in Virginia from Jefferson through The Convention of 1829." WMQ 8, 2nd ser.(January 1928):25.

Of the sixty-six students enrolled, seven were awarded the Bachelor of Law Degree: George Avery, Benjamin Jones, Robert McCandlish, William Greenhill, Richard Povall, Richard Pollard, and J. Augustine Smith; and three students were awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts: Francis McAuley [sic], John Nelson, and H. L. Wilson.¹ One of the graduates, young Francis Macauley,² died within a few months following his graduation.³ On the basis of available evidence, another student, George Thornton,⁴ "committed suicide, while at college, from depression of spirits at his failure in his studies, according to family tradition."⁵

Of interest from this year is a student notebook containing one hundred forty-four pages of notes on Natural Philosophy which were taken from the lectures of President Madison by an "unknown" student at William and Mary 1809-1811. The book apparently represents notes taken by several students—a cooperative effort. The book contains the signatures of Thomas Griffin Peachy, a student in 1812 who received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1812-1813;⁶ Patrick Galt, a student in 1811-

¹Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

²A Provisional List, p. 26.

³WMQ 11, 1st ser.(January 1903):180; WMQ 7, 1st ser.(July 1898):42.

⁴"William and Elizabeth Mason Thornton had two sons, George and William, who were at William and Mary College with their cousins, George and William Mason, of Mattawomon. One of the young Thorntons committed suicide, while at College,...." William Thornton was a student in 1813 (A Provisional List, p. 40); George Mason was a student in 1811/12 and in 1814 (A Provisional List, p. 27); William Mason was a student in 1811/12 (A Provisional List, p. 27); the name of George Thornton is not included among the students listed (A Provisional List, p. 40).

⁵"Thornton," WMQ 3, 1st ser.(July 1894):71.

⁶A Provisional List, p. 32; Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

1813;¹ James S. Gilliam, a student in 1811-1812 who received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1812-1813 also;² James Wills, a student in 1810-1811;³ and on page one hundred is the following notation: "Thomas Griffin Peachy's book presented him by his friend G Croghan October 1810"; Croghan was a student in 1809-1810 who received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1810.⁴ Several different handwritings are represented in the notes with pencil notations appearing on the first page and on a few of the other pages. There is no title page; and the volume begins with Lecture XIII, Electricity. The spine is gone but appears to have been of leather; and on the inside front cover is written January 16th 1811/ "Pat Galt/T. G. Peachy/December 1810"; on the inside back cover is written "On Gros/James Wills~W^m and Mary."⁵ This notebook is the last known surviving collection of lecture notes taken from President Madison's lectures.

And so the year ends. Enrollments have increased; the number of degrees awarded has increased; the Society is apparently active and supportive, a professor of law having been added and a new professor of mathematics employed, both of whom were alumni of the College; the Board was apparently active, the College still being on the Legislature's "approved list" for conducting lotteries; and President Madison was

¹Ibid., p. 18.

²Ibid., p. 19; Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 44.

⁴Ibid., p. 14; Ibid.

⁵James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, Bound Volumes, College of William and Mary.

still active in all of his various avenues of endeavor—all of which indicates that those charged with leadership responsibilities on behalf of the College were in some measure exercising their leadership roles and fulfilling their responsibilities.

On 1 February 1812, President James Madison wrote to his cousin, United States' President James Madison, soliciting the appointment of his son-in-law, Robert Gomain Scott, to the office of Collector of Revenue. He also discussed the declining state of his health, mentioning, for the second time according to available sources noted, that he was ill with dropsy.¹ A few days earlier, on 28 January 1812, he had written his will: "This will and Testament is written with my own hand, and I do hereby sign it on this twenty eighth day of January in the year of our Lord 1812 constituting my wife Executrix thereof, and sealing it with my seal."² On Friday evening, March 6th, President James Madison died. One obituary noted that "a dropsy, the symptoms of which became unequivocal a little before last Christmas, terminated his valuable life; yet so gentle and gradual was his decline, that he actually lectured to one of his classes, but two days before his death."³

¹J[ames] Madison to James Madison, 1 February 1812, Calendar of Correspondence of James Madison, p. 499.

²"Will of Bishop James Madison of Virginia, January 8[sic], 1812." VMH 38(October 1930):374.

³Virginia Argus, Thursday, 12 March 1812. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Oversize File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

The Society of the Masters and Professors met on March 8th and passed three resolutions:

The Right Reverend Dr. Madison, President of this College, having on the evening of yesterday departed this life:

Resolved, That it is peculiarly proper that his remains should be deposited in the Chapel of College, and that a letter expressive of the sincere condolence of the members of the society on this truly melancholy event, be addressed to Mrs. Madison, Relict of the late President, and stating to Mrs. Madison their wish that his remains should be deposited in the Chapel of the College.

Resolved, That the members of the society wear mourning for six months to manifest their high respect for his great Virtues, Talents, and unremitted attention to the arduous duties of President and Professor, which have been eminently instrumental for nearly 40 years, in fostering and promoting the advantages of this institution, in inculcating the purest morals and the most useful and liberal sciences into the hearts of each succeeding generation, and thereby rendering to our Country services incalculably the most important.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Students of the College to wear a suit of mourning or black crepe on the left arm for six months in testimony of their regret for this sad event.

Wm. Nelson¹

Those Masters and Professors present at this meeting were indicated as being "Wm. Nelson, Professor of Law & Police & Ferdinand S. Campbell, Professor of Humanity."² Why were the other members not present, particularly at a meeting whose resolves concerning the death of the President were to be communicated to the Enquirer and published on March 13th?

These resolutions were given to Mrs. Madison on the same day they were adopted along with the following letter:

¹Richmond Enquirer, 13 March 1812. James M. Owens Collection, Box 7, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

Dear Madam,

The enclosed resolutions of the members of the Society of the College on the melancholy death of their revered President, too feebly convey to you the feelings of their hearts, feelings responded by his countrymen and by the world.

In common life the luxury of grief arises from the image of the departed being embosomed in the heart of surviving friends. Tho' public bodies in some respects have an artificial existence, when they are composed of individuals who know & have felt the influence of the virtues of those who have died, similar sensations arise as men give a force to public sympathy.—These sensations, heightened by the strongest gratitude, impel us to declare them to you. There is a peculiar propriety in depositing in the bosom of our Alma Mater the remains of him who after having received the nourishment of Vir-tue and Science, has in turn supported the parent, and spread the delicious and useful element with a hand truly liberal.

Your compliance with the request contained in one of the resolutions will be considered as proof that his affection for our Institution survives in you, and as a favor conferred personally on the Professors.

We are with real condolence and affection,

Your Friends
Wm. Nelson
F. S. Campbell¹

Mrs. Madison's son-in-law, Robert G. Scott, wrote a response to the Society for her on March 9th:

Gentlemen,

In the name of Mrs. Madison, (whose distress for the irreparable loss of her worthy husband, precludes her from addressing you) I return her warmest thanks for the affectionate manner in which you have expressed your feelings at the loss of your late President,—She thinks it peculiarly proper that his remains should be deposited in the College Chapel—and to the second resolution of your body gives her consent.²

¹[The Society of the College of William and Mary] to Mrs. Sarah Madison, 8 March 1812, James M. Owens Collection, Box 7, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Robert G. Scott to Masters & Professors of William & Mary College, 9 March 1812, James M. Owens Collection, Box 7, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

The students, numbering forty-four this year,¹ entered into the following resolutions:

Resolved unanimously, in testimony of our affection and veneration for Bishop Madison, and as a demonstration of the sincere and poignant grief with which our hearts are deeply penetrated, we, the Students of William and Mary College will follow in solemn procession the remains of our most respected Preceptor from his house to the place where they are to be deposited, and as a farther symbol of our affection & grief, we will wear a crepe on the left arm & on the hat for six months.

Theophilus Field,²₃ Chairman.
March 8th, 1812.

The body of their revered Professor and President was interred in a vault⁴ in the Chapel of the Wren Building to rest "in the bosom"⁵ of his Alma Mater and theirs. The Reverend John Bracken, a fellow Professor and a fellow Clergyman of President Madison (and the man who would succeed him as President of the College), preached the sermon at his funeral. The following excerpt from the sixteen page sermon gives some insight into Professor Bracken's view of the man he was to succeed as President of the College and also, perhaps, includes a clue regarding his absence at the recently held meeting of the Society:

To commend those excellent persons, the merit of whose lives has been great and exemplary, is not only a price due to the dead; but an act of charity to the living, setting a pattern of well-doing before our eyes, and inviting and encouraging us to do likewise.

¹Goodwin, Historical Notes.

²A Provisional List, p. 17.

³James M. Owens Collection, Box 7, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

⁴Virginia Argus, 12 March 1812. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Oversize File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁵[The Society] to Mrs. Madison, 8 March 1812, James M. Owens Collection, Box 7, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

I am not indeed under any circumstances, the person to venture at more than drawing a few lines of portraiture, which deserves to be coloured and finished by the hand of a skillful painter; but labouring for several days past under some degree of varying unremitting pain; and at the same time not free from mental agitation, on account of domestic considerations, deeply interesting to a parent, the separation of his family, with the prospect of cheerless, uncomfortable solitude; I feel myself still more inadequate to the task and must bespeak your indulgence and candour to the feeble attempt.

What I have to say will I suppose be but little more than what you will be able to go before me in.

I shall be brief and hardly more than an echo of what you must have been saying to one another.

A rational and firm piety, an active and constant affection for the well-being and interest of mankind, a quick penetration, a solid judgment, were some of the sources which united their powers to compose the gentle and courteous stream of his life and conduct. As a Christian he was truly sincere, of an innocent, irreproachable, nay exemplary life, which was led not only at a great distance from vice; but also in the even and uniform practice of many virtues, such as were suitable to, and adorned the state and professions to which it pleased God to call him. He highly valued and heartily loved that Church wherein he was baptized and educated, of which he was an able minister and defender, over which he presided with distinguished eminence and approbation, and to which his decease will, I fear, be an irreparable, I had almost said a fatal loss, yet he was not of those narrow spirited and bigoted men, who confine all merit within their own pale; but he thought candidly, and spoke advantageously of many who thought differently from himself. So far was he from being tinctured with bigotry, or the least tinge of religious (which is indeed the worst sort of affectation) in anything he said or did, or from any endeavors to recommend himself to others, by appearing to be what he really was, that he was faulty on the other side, and by an excess of modesty in his religious demeanor, and a detestation of hypocrisy, pharasaical show, and outward ostentation, he gave occasion to insinuations from some few captious persons, as illiberal as they were unfounded, that he was rather a nominal than a true Christian....[As Professor and as President of William and Mary] he was a vigilant and prudent superintendent, a great encourager of science and good order; and from his talents and greatly improved mental endowments, a most able, judicious, and successful instructor, to which every corner of this Commonwealth bears witness; so that by his wise, attentive and judicious superintending care of the state of the college, he brought it to a flourishing and distinguished condition, and rendered its character and fame eminent and respected through the United States....Whilst in the walks of private life and social intercourse, a native fund of cheerfulness, ease, and vivacity joined with chaste and polished

manners and suavity of temper, united these powers to compose the gentle and bounteous stream of his life and conversation.¹

Some of the obituaries which appeared shortly after his death give further insight into the public view of this President of William and Mary and the esteem with which he was held. One such notice stated, in part:

America has given birth to few such ardent and successful enquirers after truth in Morals and Physics as Dr. Madison.—From his youth his investigations were unremitted. Whilst a student it would have been difficult to decide whether his correctness of conduct or his assiduity in the pursuit of science predominated. His urbanity of manners, and complacency evinced the purity of the source from which they flamed....To how many of us with the simplicity of Benevolence and truth, has he, proceeding from the plainest Elements, gradually opened the vast expanse of human knowledge and pointed thro' nature up to Nature's God!

...Natural Philosophy, Politics, and Belles Lettres...became the favorite objects of his Mind. He was particularly devoted to Ethics—nor did he stop at human systems. Dr. Madison's belief in Christianity was a consequence of profound research. He was always ready to give a reason for his faith. In liberality to others he imitated Christ as nearly as is in the power of Man. Every moral truth was in his opinion to be found in Christianity, & the will of God the touchstone of moral actions. He agreed with the immortal Sidney, that pure republicanism was consonant to that system. For nearly forty years he was the principal support of the useful seminary over which he presided [*italics the author's*]. His life was such as might be expected from such an union of Religion, Morality, and Science. His Equanimity, his Cheerfulness, his Firmness, and his Intellect remained unshaken by the presence of Death.² He smiled at the approach, and breathed his last without a groan....

Another wrote of him:

Of the number of highly respected, and distinguished citizens of Virginia, who, within a few years past, have descended to the grave, there probably was not one whose loss was more generally felt, or

¹Rev. John Bracken, "A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Right Rev. James Madison, D.D., Bishop of Virginia and President of William and Mary College" (Richmond: Printed by John O'Lynch, 1812). James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Richmond Enquirer, Friday, 13 March 1812.

more sincerely lamented.¹ Let those who...have imbibed the precepts of morality, and the principles of sound philosophy from his life, attest this solemn truth! Let every parent, who has seen his son rise to dignity and respect in the eyes of his fellow-citizens, gratefully acknowledge his obligations to his memory! and let every generous youth, who pants after knowledge,² lament that he has forever lost the benefit of such a preceptor!

The manner in which he was able to conduct his classes, in spite of his illness, was also noted:

Notwithstanding the constant debility and the frequent agonies inseparable from his disease....the patience and composure, so essential in the commerce of an instructor with his pupil, never forsook him, and the inquietude, which corporal infirmity almost invariably produces, was never observed to cast a shade on his countenance, or to infuse asperity into his voice.³

In his relationships with others, Madison was characterized as being:

Ardent in affection and steady in friendship, his great care was to promote the lasting happiness of all who were connected with him:... he never suppressed his opinions or withheld his advice when either of them could possibly tend to check indiscretion and prevent error. Fond of society and gay in conversation, yet occasionally grave and majestic, it was difficult to decide whether he was most beloved or revered by those who had witnessed and felt this singular mixture of his temper.⁴

His role at the College, the effects his death may have upon the College, and the love and devotion which Virginians felt for the College are noted with due concern:

He performed the arduous duties of an instructor in the College over which he presided for a period of nearly forty years, and the magnitude of his abilities, together with the zeal of their application, caused him to be regarded as the chief pillar of its

¹Virginia Argus, 12 March 1812; National Intelligencer, 17 March 1812. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Oversize File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Virginia Argus, 12 March 1812. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Oversize File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

prosperity. The support which he lent to this ancient seminary of learning is now at an end, and there is cause of serious apprehension that the fabric itself will fall a victim to premature dilapidation. May the Guardian Angels of science avert this catastrophe by furnishing a successor who shall possess all those attributes of the heart and understanding which conspired with his years, to render Mr. M. one amongst the most venerable of men!¹

The eulogy "by the pen and heart of A Pupil,"² published in the Enquirer on March 13th, delineates the character of Madison's leadership as President of the College and also provides insight, through the mature and perceptive character of this student's observations, into the leadership potential of the students at the College:

The sorrow of Virginia will be deep and pungent and her tears many when she hears of the death of the venerable and enlightened Bishop Madison, to whom she has been accustomed to look as the father and instructor of her sons, as the guardian of her morals, and as the high priest of the temple of science....Identifying himself with all the various qualities requisite for the administration of an office delicate in its nature and arduous in its functions, industry, perseverance and ability, firmness without obstinacy, dignity without pride, affability without condescension, and strictness without severity—he presided over our College during a period frequently strongly marked with turbulence and sedition, anarchy and disorder, with an ability which elicited admiration, with a dignity which commanded respect, with a firmness, which curbed, and a mildness which soothed hostility, and curbed the turbid waves of rebellion....He has not passed uncensured, but his censurers have been young men of "cold hearts and muddy understanding," deficient representatives of the majesty of human nature, incumberances on society and enemies of virtue. But let their enmity rest. Their venerable parent and instructor, now sleeps, enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen....the author of this sketch....beheld him with admiration, and was astonished at...the zeal which he evinced, even in his last moments, to advance the interests and perpetuate the existence of that institution, of which he had so long been both the ornament and support.³

¹Ibid.

²Richmond Enquirer, 13 March 1812. James M. Owens Collection, Folder 11, Box 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

Also surviving are tributes of two of his students—Charles S. Todd and John Tyler, both of whom filled leadership positions of national and international import—which were written many years after his death and a tribute of William Wirt, a young lawyer in Williamsburg who had aided President Madison in promoting the welfare of the students, also written many years after Madison's death. Writing to a friend in 1829, Wirt compared Madison to President Quincy of Harvard:

Do you remember Bishop Madison, formerly the President of William and Mary? You will remember his gentleness of spirit, and the kindness and courtesy of his address. You have never seen him recover himself from one of those embarrassments into which his affability sometimes betrayed him, with more delicacy and address than President Quincy of Harvard did on the occasion I am about to relate. He happened, when I made him a visit, to ask me in what college I had graduated. I was obliged to admit that I had never been a student at any College. A shade of embarrassment, scarcely perceptible, just flitted across his countenance—but he recovered in an instant, and added most gracefully—"upon my word, you furnish a very strong argument against the utility of a college education."—Was not this neatly said, and very much in the style of Bishop Madison?¹

Charles S. Todd, who became Minister from the United States to Russia, wrote of Madison in a letter dated 9 October 1849:

He was a man of enlarged and patriotic views, and looked beyond mere party and sectional interests to the good of the country at large. His preaching was less distinguished for animation, and what might be called power, than for a graceful and finished style both of composition and elocution. Many of his discourses also exhibited a profound and philosophical mind;...I remember particularly being impressed with a Funeral Discourse which he delivered over the remains of his ancient friend Dr. Galt, in which the emotions of the man mingled with the hopes of the Christian in a eulogy characterized by some of the finest touches of a sublime eloquence.²

¹William Wirt to William Pope, in 1829. In John P. Kennedy, Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt (Philadelphia: Lee and Blanchard, 1850), 2:238.

²C[harles] S. Todd to [———], 9 October 1849. In Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, 5:323-324.

John Tyler, who became President of the United States, wrote on 14 December 1848:

My acquaintance...commenced at the early age of twelve years, upon my entering the school of Humanity of William and Mary CollegeHis manner to the inmates of the College was kind and parental, ...and so strongly did he impress every student with the sense of his deep solicitude for his welfare, that, at this distant day, no one who attended the College during the time he presided over it, hesitates to acknowledge him as a second father. As President, he experienced a general superintendence over the whole College and all its classes, and his attentions were bestowed equally upon the "grammar boys" as upon the students in the higher classes. Thus it was that he was venerated throughout the institution.

I well remember the impression he made upon me, on my first introduction: he addressed me familiarly by my proper name, and soon succeeded in placing me entirely at ease, and terminated our interview by the expression of the hope that I should not only, in due season, win the honours of the Institution, but in the end reflect honour upon it,—thus seeking to inspire me with a laudable ambition, and stimulating me to the use of exertion to excel.¹

He, too, commented upon the eloquence of President Madison's speech:

He was rigid in requiring the attendance of all the youth of the College at morning prayer in the Chapel. The prayers were...read by himself; and nothing could exceed the impressiveness of his reading, or the clearness and distinctness of his enunciation. The deep tones of his voice and its silvery cadence were incomparably fine. It has been my fortune to hear our first and most distinguished orators, as well in our public assemblies as in the pulpit; but I recollect nothing to equal the voice of Bishop Madison....I remember one occasion in particular when he was as impressive as man could well be....[At this point Tyler comments on the bicentennial celebrations at Jamestown, 7 May 1807, at which, as previously noted, Madison gave the opening prayer and on the eloquence and impressiveness of his address.] On the 7th day of May, 1807, I found myself, having but a short time before completed my sixteenth year, in the midst of a large crowd, at the site of that ancient city, whose foundations had been, more than a century before, razed to the ground. I was, for the first time, treading the earth on which a band of bold and fearless adventurers had trod two centuries before [*italics the author's*]...The occasion, the scenery around, the broken spire, the monuments of the dead, the tall, but graceful and dignified form of the venerable suppliant, the full tones of that sonorous voice, the pathos of which sunk deep into the heart,—all,

¹John Tyler to [—], 14 December 1848. In Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, 5:321.

all, made an impression upon me, which time has in no manner effaced. The Address to the Throne of grace was truly eloquent....¹

Almost as an aside Tyler comments on Madison's church parish, which apparently did not long endure following Madison's death, and on Madison's role as Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, his observations combining lamentations with words of praise; and he concludes his tribute with observations concerning Madison's role as President of the College of William and Mary:

He was the regularly officiating minister of what was called the "Church on the Main;" [sic] being one of the earliest built of those sacred edifices in the Colony,....No trace of it now remains, to mark the spot on which it stood, save the broken bricks and rubbish which strew the ground. That great act of Mr. Jefferson,—the act establishing religious freedom, swept away many an edifice devoted to religion, and Bishop Madison was among the last of the Parsons under the old regime [italics the author's]....It is,...but due to truth to say that the Episcopal Church did not much revive under his Bishopric; it still lay prostrate under the blow which had annihilated the Establishment....and only the College vacation,... was or could be devoted to his Diocese in personal visits. And yet the light of his example and his correspondence did much to hold together the fragments, and to keep them in readiness to obey the plastic touch of his successors....But it was as President of William and Mary, that the chiefest value of his life was exhibited. The hundreds who went out into the world to spread around them the light of his teachings, the great and exalted names which were given to fame by several of those, who under him became the disciples of Locke and of Sidney, speak more loudly in his praise than any words I can utter or write. Well may his relative and namesake, James Madison, have said of him..."he was one of the most deserving men that ever lived."

I could have said no less of one, the memory of whose virtues is indelibly impressed upon my heart and mind—Exemplar vitae morumque. As such I regarded him when living, and as such I cherish his memory, now that he is dead.²

Others apparently felt as Tyler did, for at the time of his writing, 1848, a monument to perpetuate President Madison's memory had already been erected on the walls of the Chapel of the College:

¹Ibid., pp. 321-322.

²Ibid., pp. 322-323.

A marble slab, with a chaste inscription, has been erected to him on the walls of that Chapel, in which his morning prayers were daily offered in the presence of the young men of the College, and his name will be regarded "familiar as that of household gods," by all the inmates of that venerable institution, as long as its buildings endure.¹

On 4 February 1813, a notice appeared in both the Enquirer and in the Virginia Argus; the principal part of the library of President James Madison was to be sold at auction!

BOOK AUCTION.—An extensive collection of Books, comprising, besides many excellent new publications, the principal part of the Library of Bishop Madison, deceased, late president of Wm. & Mary College, will be sold, in a few days at the Vendue-Office of the subscribers. Catalogues will be distributed previously to the day on sale, of which timely notice will be given.

J. Brown, Jr. & Co. V.M.²

Why did President Madison not leave his library to the College? Did the College participate in the auction? Why did the College not purchase the collection? One would surmise that surely the College would have purchased the books had funds for such a purchase been available, and one would further surmise that such funds were not available. In his will Madison had left "to my two children Jan[—] Catesby, and Susan Randolph all the land which I hold, to b[—] equally divided between them....To my affectionate and beloved wife Sarah, I [—] during her life, all my other property of whatever kind, and [—] my will is, that it shall be equally divided between my son and daughter as before mentioned."³ The sale of "the principal part of the Library of

¹Ibid., p. 323.

²Richmond Enquirer, 4 February 1813. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³"Will of Bishop James Madison of Virginia, 28 January 1812." VMH 38(October 1930):373. In addition to whatever lands President Madison may have owned in Virginia, he apparently had extensive holdings in

Bishop Madison" was, one would surmise, at the direction of his widow, Sarah Taite Madison,¹ who remained in Williamsburg after her husband's death, residing probably at the Tayloe House² until her death on the 14th of August in 1815.³ Whether or not and, if so, in what manner Mrs. Madison made the Library collection of her late husband available to the College is not known. Unfortunately, no part of his library collection is housed among the Archives of the College of William and Mary today.

With the death of James Madison another period in the history of the College came to an end, the period during which he served as her

Kentucky. Charles Lewis Scott notes that in October 1889, he received a letter from his nephew in Richmond, Virginia, Robert S. Chamberlayne, informing him "that a prominent lawyer, by the name of W. W. Helm, of Louisville, Ky., was hunting up the heirs of Bishop Madison,...[concerning] the lands entered by Bishop Madison over a hundred years ago[and] the fact that the heirs of Bishop Madison owned, or are entitled to about 40,000 acres of mineral land in East Kentucky, and have a fighting chance for many thousand acres more that are illegally claimed and possessed, is unquestionable and undeniable." ("A Sketch of my own immediate family," pp. 11-12, 14.)

¹In his "Introduction" to Charles Lewis Scott's "Sketch," James M. Owens mentions these names for Mrs. Madison: Sarah Tate Madison (p. 1), Susan Taite Madison (p. 1), and Sarah Taite Madison (p. 2). James M. Owens Collection, Folder 14, Box 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary. Dixon and Nicholson's Virginia Gazette of 1 May 1779, notes another name: "Williamsburg, May 1. Last Wednesday evening was married, the Rev. James Madison, President of William and Mary College, to Miss Sally Taite of this city." James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²A note concerning a letter, addressed "Rev'd Friend," dated [—] 1809, found in the Tayloe House in the course of restoration in 1950. James Madison, Individual Manuscripts, Archives, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia.

³American Beacon, 18 August 1815. James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

president. Was there a loss of leadership for the College of William and Mary during the later years of Madison's presidency, the years 1800-1812? Evidence for these years is fragmented, making it difficult, if not impossible, to portray the history of the College during this period with the degree of accuracy and certainty one would desire. On the basis of the evidence that is available, however, a limited perspective of several aspects of the history of the College during this time is possible.

As previously noted, whatever benefits the College may have derived from the leadership role provided by a Chancellor were denied it during this period; this leadership position was vacant. The Board of Governors and Visitors, another entity charged with leadership responsibilities and apparently a nonfunctioning entity during the last five years of the eighteenth century, met early in 1800 in response to Madison's request and elected thirteen members, each of whom lived within relative proximity to the College, a factor which Madison had long viewed as being essential to a wise, effective, and expedient leadership on the part of a Board of Governors and Visitors for the College. The Board, it could be assumed, maintained a full membership during the remainder of Madison's administration and assumed an active role in conducting the affairs of the College, the extent of its leadership and the wisdom of its leadership apparently varying.

The Society, another entity charged with leadership responsibilities, experienced some changes during this period; and the effect of these is difficult to validly ascertain. The loss of St. George Tucker as Professor of Law early in this period was assuredly a serious loss; yet the College was able to immediately fill this vacancy with William

Nelson, and the lectures in Law continued and the number enrolled was sustained. During the succeeding years the number of students even increased as did the number of those students who earned the degree of Bachelor of Law, and the College apparently continued to have the support and the blessings of St. George Tucker. One could assume that for a period of two or three years, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, lectures in Romance Languages were not available to the students, but with the election of Professor Girardin to the Society in 1803, the College offered the full complement of lectures available earlier and actually increased its offerings with the addition of lectures in Civil History and in Natural History. The Grammar School continued to function and additional personnel were sought and apparently employed to assist Professor Bracken with instruction for the Grammar School scholars. The extent and the wisdom of the leadership role provided by the Society is uncertain. It would appear that it was less than could have been desired and even needed although some evidences of occasional leadership and strong support for the policies of the College and for the President are indicated. One would have to assert, however, that there were times when available evidence would indicate a definite lack and perhaps loss of leadership on the part of the Society. Some evidence would even suggest that at least one member of the Society was considered to be detrimental to the welfare of the College, its reputation, and its students.

The total number of students enrolled at the College during these years (1800-1812) was approximately 724, an average of 56 as compared with a total of approximately 303 and an average of 23 during a preceding period (1786-1799) of Madison's presidency. The total number of degrees awarded during this period was 47 (1800-1812) as compared

with a total of 21 during the preceding years (1783-1799). The type of student attending the College was apparently no longer the cream of Virginia's youth entirely. However, if there were fewer "ornaments" enrolled at the College than during the preceding years, factors other than the leadership exercised by the President, the Society, and the Board of Governors and Visitors were certainly present which would militate against this being the case. The relationship of the College to the disestablished Church and the subsequent proliferation of other schools, particularly those associated with the various religious denominations, was certainly a reality with which the College and its leadership had to cope throughout this period; and the Legislature's one gesture of financial support since the College's financial deprivation in the aftermath of the Revolution (except the grant of the palace lands and other lands in 1784), namely, the Lottery, was a recourse apparently made available to every other school or organization in the state that desired to adopt this avenue of securing financial support. Whatever funds or financial benefit the College was able to derive from this source, therefore, was acquired in widespread competition; and, on the basis of available evidence, the College perhaps would have been better off without this "blessing" of the Legislature.

The alumni, a group usually associated with occupying a leadership role in the affairs of a college or university, exercised both a positive and a negative influence on the College. As noted, a number of her sons were involved with infractions of the rules and regulations of the College in such a way that they acquired the status of alumni through expulsion—definitely a negative influence, particularly on the part of those involved in the rather frequent and headline-making

infraction of dueling. An equally positive and more numerous influence were her many sons who did become "shining ornaments" in the state and in the nation, reflecting proudly on her continuing ability to produce leaders for the Commonwealth and for the young and emerging nation. Her most famous alumnus, Thomas Jefferson, perhaps occupied a dual leadership role, a positive role and perhaps a negative role. As an alumnus who, earlier in her history, is credited with having made significant contributions to the curricular structure of the College; as an alumnus who had very early achieved eminence in the affairs of the state and of the nation; and as an alumnus who, during part of this period, was President of the United States, Jefferson certainly provided a positive influence for the College and, as an alumnus, occupied a leadership role. The widespread rumors, however, among the people, unfounded or not, concerning his deistic tendencies, his financial mismanagement and/or manipulations, his personal relationships and his frequent malignment by the press during his presidency could only serve as a negative influence at the time on the College.

During this period the College continued to be an integral part of the community of Williamsburg, to the detriment of the students some evidence would indicate and to their decided advantage other evidence would indicate. Though Williamsburg no longer served as the heartbeat of the nation and, by this period in her history, apparently was beginning to show signs, physical and otherwise, of her loss as the bustling social and political center of the Commonwealth, the advantages afforded the College and its students by the Community of Williamsburg and its citizens outweighed the disadvantages; and overall, the two entities, the Community and the College, were mutually supportive, each providing

a needed leadership role for the other; and, although the character of the leadership role provided the College by the Community had changed somewhat, the Community still occupied, and provided, a leadership position.

The College's President, James Madison, whose death some feared would be a fatal loss to the College, in spite of ill and later declining health, in spite of an interval of apparent interest in leaving the College, and in spite of the multitude of responsibilities imposed upon him by his various offices with the College and with the Church, did provide the College, one must conclude, with a decided leadership which strongly aided in her survival during a most difficult period in her history. His willingness to respond quickly, intelligently, wisely, and publicly (even if anonymously at times) to the criticisms of her policies, her procedures, and her students; his willingness to fight, to plan, even to scheme to meet her needs and to defend her position; his apparently unceasing interest in the acquisition of knowledge, in the pursuit of science, and in the search for truth which acquired for him a national and even an international reputation as a philosopher or scientist; his apparent indefatigable patience, firmness, and gentleness in guiding and caring for his young charges while at the same time providing them with the freedom of thought and action necessary for them to become honorable men and leaders among men; his apparent ability to transfer to his students his own enthusiasm and thirst for knowledge, particularly scientific knowledge; and the leadership position he held as Bishop of the Episcopal, though Disestablished, Church certainly assign to him an indisputable and much deserved leadership role. Insofar as he was able to determine and to control the affairs of the Col-

lege, the College did not suffer a loss of leadership during this period of his administration, 1800-1812; nor, on the basis of available evidence, was this a period of decline for the College beyond that which she experienced at the time of the Revolution when she was deprived of most of her visible means of financial survival, of active political involvement, and of her position of religious leadership. In fact, considering the number of students attending and the number completing the requirements for a degree, this was a period of growth for the College in spite of evident adversity.

With the passing of James Madison and the election of his successor, John Bracken, Professor of Humanity and Master of the Grammar School, what did the future hold for the College of William and Mary? What kind of leadership did the College experience during his brief tenure as President? To answer these questions, we look at "The Bracken Years, 1812-1814," relating the history of the College during these two years and examining the history in terms of the leadership the College experienced during these two years.

CHAPTER III

THE BRACKEN YEARS, 1812-1814

On the 9th of March 1812, the day funeral services were held for President James Madison, the Board of Governors and Visitors of the College of William and Mary met and passed the following resolution: "Be it ordained that the salary of the President and Chaplain of the College of William and Mary be and the [torn?] same is hereby declared to be five hundred dollars a year to be paid to him quarterly—."¹ No other evidence regarding the appointment of a successor to the late President Madison by the Board of Governors and Visitors is available; however, it could be assumed that the ninth President of the College of William and Mary was appointed at this time and that this person was John Bracken, Professor of Humanity at the College. A letter written by one of the Visitors, James Semple,² notes that "As a Visitor of the Colledge, and as an American I feel the deepest interest in the prosperity of that

¹An extract in manuscript, noted to have been passed the first time, 9th March 1812. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²A Provisional List, p. 55.

Institution; which has sustained a rude shock in the appointment of Mr. Bracken to the Presidency."¹ Apparently President Bracken's election was not unanimous.

Who was this gentleman who had succeeded to the presidency of the College of William and Mary and who, on the same day that the Board of Governors and Visitors had met and elected him president, had preached the sermon at the funeral of his predecessor even though, in his own words, he had been "labouring for several days past under some degree of varying unremitting pain; and at the same time not free from mental agitation, on account of domestic considerations...."?² What is the history of the College during his brief tenure as President, and what kind of leadership did he provide; did the College experience a loss of leadership during his administration?

President Bracken, who was probably born in England,³ was sixty-seven years of age⁴ at the time he assumed the presidency and had served the College as Master of the Grammar School from 1775 to 1779, when the

¹James Semple to [Thomas Jefferson], [Williamsburg, December 1812], John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Rev. John Bracken, "A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Right Rev. James Madison, D.D." James Madison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary. One historian has noted that Bracken's statement regarding "domestic considerations, deeply interesting to a parent, the separation of his family, with the prospect of cheerless, uncomfortable solitude" perhaps "concerned the marriage of his youngest daughter, Sarah, whose husband, Dr. Robert Butler, appears as the acting assistant adjutant-general at Detroit in the War of 1812The statement would also indicate that Bracken was a widower in 1812" (Rutherford Goodwin, "The Reverend John Bracken." Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 10 [December 1941]:374, Note 91).

³Richmond Enquirer, 24 July 1818.

⁴American Beacon, 22 July 1818.

Grammar School was abolished following Madison's reorganization of the College and its curriculum (with the aid of Jefferson who was Governor of Virginia and a member of the Board of Governors and Visitors at the time), and from 1792, when the Grammar School was revived, until his election as President of the College in 1812.

He, like his predecessor, had also served the Episcopal Church in Virginia, having been licensed for Virginia for Amelia County in 1772;¹ and at the time of his election as President of the College, he was serving as Rector of Bruton Parish in Williamsburg, a capacity in which he had served since his election by the Vestry on the 12th of June 1775.² He had also been active in the affairs of the Diocese of Virginia;³ and on 13 May 1812, the Diocese, which had not held a convention since 1805, met in Richmond and elected President Bracken to succeed the late James Madison as Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.⁴ Unlike Bishop Madison, however, the third bishop elect of

¹E. L. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, p. 253.

²Virginia Gazette, 17 June 1773.

³Rev. John Bracken preached the opening sermon at the first convocation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia in 1785; he served as a member of the Standing Committee from 1785 to 1793; he stood for election as Bishop at the second convention in 1786 but was defeated; he was elected secretary at the third convention in 1787 and again in 1797; he was elected president of the convention in 1789, in 1812, and in 1813; and he represented the Diocese as clerical delegate to the General Convention in 1789 and again in 1799. "Rev. John Bracken, D.D." John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary. According to some church historians, Reverend Bracken was awarded the degree, Doctor of Divinity, in 1793 by the College of William and Mary.

⁴"The expediency of electing a bishop was next considered, according to the resolution of this morning....The Rev. Mr. Buchanan having nominated the Rev. Dr. Bracken, the members then proceeded to

Virginia was not consecrated. One church historian notes that "For reasons not recorded, those appointed to arrange for the consecration did nothing";¹ and in May 1813, one year after his election, Bracken appeared before a convention attended by "9 clerical and 9 lay deputies,"² was elected president,³ and then resigned as Bishop: "On Wednesday, the 26th, the Rev. Dr. Bracken, who was elected Bishop of the Church in this state by the last convention, gave in his resignation thereof, which was accepted."⁴ According to church historians, no reasons were assigned for these actions, or if any were assigned, they were not recorded.⁵ This sequence of events could have had only negative effects on the College, reflecting negatively on both its leadership and its reputation.

ballot;....they [a committee] found the ballots to be, for the Rev. Dr. Bracken, 22, and for the Rev. Mr. Boggs, 3; and thereupon the Rev. John Bracken, D.D., was declared to be duly elected Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this state" (Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese [sic] of Virginia, From 1785 to 1835, p. 89 [Bound with Francis L. Hawks, Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1836-1839), I]). Notice of his election was published in the Virginia Argus, 21 May 1812. John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

¹Right Rev. J. Johns, A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade, p. 67.

²"Rev. John Bracken, D.D." John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Rutherford Goodwin, "The Reverend John Bracken," p. 373.

⁴"Rev. John Bracken, D.D." John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁵Ibid. One church historian, J. Johns, notes in his work, A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade (pp. 66-67) that at the time of President Bracken's election as Bishop, "When the testimonial, recommending him for consecration, was being subscribed by the members of the Convention, Mr. [William] Meade (later Bishop of Virginia), who had endeavored to effect the postponement of the election, declined signing the document." He further states that "Mr. Meade's

One can only conjecture as to how President Bracken reacted to not being consecrated as Bishop; but his reaction to the loss of his position with the College in 1779 when the Grammar School was abolished is well documented. In 1787, eight years after the Grammar School and his position were abolished, John Bracken brought suit against the College for restoration of his position and for arrears of salary; an action which had been anticipated by the Visitors and the Faculty as early as 1782.¹ The advocacy of John Marshall, representing the College, prevailed in the case: "...mandamus was not grantable in such a case as this....If the Court could take jurisdiction, still a mandamus ought not to be granted, because the Visitors or Governors had not exceeded the powers given them by the Charter."² The Court ruled that "on the merits

refusal was...from the honest conviction of the 'unworthiness' of the Bishop elect....[and] 'he declared his intention to make further opposition' before those whose consent would be necessary to the proposed consecration." Professor Bracken, as previously noted, had assisted President Madison in examining William Meade for ordination in February 1811. Another young delegate who declined to sign the testimonial was William H. Wilmer (later President of the College of William and Mary), Rector of St. Paul's in Alexandria. Another church historian, Rutherford Goodwin, notes in his work, "The Rev. John Bracken" (pp. 372-374), that the unwillingness of both Meade and Wilmer to support the election and consecration of President Bracken was a conscientious opposition based on the fact, revealed in their correspondence with Richard Channing Moore (who was subsequently elected Bishop of Virginia to succeed James Madison), that they considered no one at the convention, no one in Virginia, to be adequate to the office and the task which confronted it in Virginia. In the Memoir of Bishop Moore it is noted that "The Rev. John Bracken, D.D., was duly elected, but was induced by circumstances, afterwards to decline the appointment..." (J. P. K. Henshaw, Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D.D. [Philadelphia: William Stanley and Co., 1843], p. 117).

¹"Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College, 1729-1784," Entry for 1 September 1782, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Daniel Call, Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Court of Appeals of Virginia (Richmond: Thomas Nicolson, 1854), 3:578.

of the case, the General Court ought not to award a suit of mandamus to restore the plaintiff to office"¹ and that if he had no right to the office, he could have no right to the salary.²

During the period between 1779 and the reopening of the Grammar School in 1792, John Bracken had apparently, at least part of the time, provided instruction for students on his own. A notice in the Virginia Gazette for 30 October 1784, signed by John Bracken, states that "The subscriber wishes to undertake the tuition of five or six boys, who may also live with him. As his attention will be entirely confined to so small a number, the terms for board and tuition will be forty guineas per ann."³ On 1 February in the year that he brought suit against the College, 1787, Bracken placed another notice in the Gazette:

Information is given to the public, that the Grammar School in the city of Williamsburg, will be continued after the Christmas holidays, or from the 15th of January next, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Bracken; board and lodging in the Capitol will be discontinued but may be had in private houses on reasonable terms. The languages, writing and arithmetic will be taught, and the terms will be two pounds five shillings per quarter, to be paid in advance.

Those who choose to learn the French Language, may have an opportunity of doing it.⁴

Following the reopening of the Grammar School, Bracken's title, as noted earlier in this study, was Professor of Humanity; and during this period the prosperity of the Grammar School fluctuated. It has been noted that at times the College had two Professors of Humanity, and at times,

¹Ibid., p. 598.

²Call, Reports of Cases (Richmond: Thomas Nicolson, 1801), 1:161-164.

³Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, 30 October 1784. John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴Ibid., 1 February 1787.

notices for Ushers were published. The roll of students for the "Department of Humanity," dated 9 March 1812, has somehow survived and indicates that the Grammar School had twenty-two scholars enrolled at the time of Madison's death:

ROLL OF THE PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY MARCH 9TH, 1812

Department of Humanity

Junius Hosburg	William Peachy
John Dandridge	
Thomas, Cicero, Greek Testament	
Howard Sheild	Thomas Newcombe
Machen Seawell	John Semple
John Coke	James Semple
Richard Coke	John Page
Ovid, Sallust, Corn. Nepos	
John Plunkett	Lloyd Briggs
John Royle	
Phaedrus Fables Erasmus	
John Peachy	Randolph Corbin
Francis Travis	Peter Randolph
William Christian	Fountaine Briggs
Robt Richardson	Llewellyn Griffin
Latin Grammar	

Of these twenty-two scholars, six did not later attend the College: Llewellyn Griffin, Thomas Newcombe, John Peachy, Peter Randolph, John Royle, and Francis Travis;² the other sixteen young men did continue in the College as students.³ According to available evidence, scholars were not again enrolled in the Grammar School until 1826.⁴ Why President Bracken did not continue as Professor in the College following his

¹WMQ 25, 1st ser.(April 1917):237.

²A Provisional List, pp. 47-48.

³A Provisional List, pp. 9, 12-15, 22, 31-32, 34, 36.

⁴A Provisional List, pp. 47-48.

election to the presidency, as had his predecessor, is not known. The resolution passed by the Board on the 9th of March included a salary for the President and Chaplain only; perhaps the Board did not give him an opportunity to continue in his position as Professor of Humanity; or perhaps Bracken refused to accept the Presidency and the Chaplaincy and continue as Professor as well, the latter being the more likely of the two. Or perhaps his declining health combined with his responsibilities with the Episcopal Church made it difficult if not impossible for him to continue to serve the College as Professor of Humanity and assume the responsibilities of President and Chaplain of the College as well.¹ On the other hand, an examination of the available surviving evidence forces one to question whether or not and, if so, in what manner and to what extent did he function as President of the College; and to what extent, if at all, did he provide leadership for the institution for which he had assumed the presidency?

The surviving written portraits of President Bracken at this period are not complimentary. One visitor to Williamsburg in the spring of 1812, writing from Richmond on May 25th, said of the President of the College: "...the president, who is also the new Bishop looks more like a tavern keeper than a divine—Indeed, I am told he has nothing divine about him but his name—"2 (This same visitor also noted in his letter: "Mrs. Kennon requested one of the Students to steal a piece of asbestos

¹One historian notes that Bracken was "President and Professor of Moral Philosophy, W. and M. College, 1812-1814" (E. L. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, pp. 253, 341). The source is not noted; no evidence to support this has been noted.

²S[amuel] Mordecai to Miss Ellen Mordecai, 25 May 1812, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

from the College museum for you—I am entrusted with the delivery of it—")¹ A member of the Board of Governors and Visitors wrote in December of that year: "If the Gordian knot cannot be untied, I would at once cut it....nor should delicacy towards an individual who disregards the publick wishes restrain me for a moment."² Thomas Jefferson, writing in November 1813, characterized the "Wm. & Mary College...president ...[as] the simpleton Bracken."³ Such views of a President, were they widespread, would certainly detract from his ability to exercise a leadership role. Again one is constrained to ask who was this man to whom the Visitors had entrusted the leadership position, President of the College of William and Mary? Had the Board acted responsibly in choosing a successor to Madison?

It is difficult to validly assess the character of the man whom the Board of Governors and Visitors had elected as President of the College. He had served the College as the Master of her Grammar School for a number of years; he had served the Diocese of Virginia in its most important leadership roles; and for equally as many years, he had served the community of Williamsburg as Rector of Bruton Parish, certainly the most prestigious rectorate in Virginia and probably in America at the time of his election. He had also served the Community of Williamsburg in other leadership capacities. He had served as president of the directors for the hospital: "At a meeting held July 20, 1790, by the

¹Ibid.

²James Semple to [Thomas Jefferson], [— December 1812], John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Th[omas] Jefferson to William Short, 9 November 1813, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

directors of the hospital for the maintenance and cure of persons of unsound minds in Williamsburg,...Dr. Bracken was made president to succeed James Madison, then in England seeking consecration as bishop";¹ and he had, as indicated in a notice appearing in the Virginia Gazette, served the city as Mayor:

April 16, 1796

Williamsburg, to wit:

John Bracken, Mayor of said City, to all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and Head Boroughs, within the Commonwealth of Virginia:

Whereas complaint is made to me this day....These are...to require you,...to make diligent search by way of HUE AND CRY....Given under my hand and seal the day and year above written.²

He had also served as a leader in the business community of the city. In fact, the extent of Bracken's financial involvements in the city of Williamsburg and its environs would indicate that he was not only a priest, prelate even, and a pedagogue but also an entrepreneur.

Like his predecessor, James Madison, John Bracken was actively involved in acquiring property. Unlike Madison, however, his interests, apparently, did not extend into the western country of Virginia but were centered in and around the City of Williamsburg. The differences in the acquisition of property for each, however, were a natural outgrowth of background, interests, and experiences. Madison was born in the western country in Augusta County,³ and his responsibilities as Bishop of Virginia had taken him all over the state; and for a period of time at

¹John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser, 27 April 1796. John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³James M. Owens, "The Madison's of Virginia and Some Allied Family Names," pp. 27-30. James M. Owens Collection, Box 3, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

least, he had actively sought to return to the western part of the state. However, except for a brief period of time when the exigencies of war had made it impossible, Madison and his family had resided at the President's House at the College; and from this vantage point he exercised a wise and capable leadership for the College. Bracken's places of residence, although in and around Williamsburg, reportedly were affected by and were as diverse as his activities and his interests.¹

John Bracken had married into the family of one of the wealthiest colonists of Virginia three years after he became Rector of Bruton Parish and one year after he became Master of the Grammar School at the College, having married Sally Burwell, daughter of Carter Burwell of Carter's Grove and great-granddaughter of Robert ("King") Carter who had owned much of the Northern Neck in Virginia,² in September 1776.³ The Brackens' residence from 1777 until about 1802 was a handsome brick house on Francis Street facing the Market Square, the house having been formerly owned by and a part of the estate of William Byrd of Westover.⁴ This house and another house on Francis Street, which Bracken owned and

¹Rutherford Goodwin, "The Reverend John Bracken," p. 357.

²VMH 5(April 1898):408-428.

³Virginia Gazette (Dixon and Hunter), 21 September 1776. John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary. The Brackens had three children: John, born in 1779; Julia Carter, born in 1781; and Sarah, born in 1785. Revd. William Archer Rutherford Goodwin, Historical Sketch of Bruton Church, Williamsburg, Virginia. (Petersburg, Virginia: The Franklin Press Company, 1903), pp. 130-131. John was a student at the College in 1791. A Provisional List, p. 8.

⁴Virginia Gazette, 14 March 1777; A Map of Williamsburg, Virginia, August 1800, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary; John Bracken to [—] Ost, 16 August 1804, Archives, Small Collections, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia.

which he perhaps occupied,¹ have both been renovated by Colonial Williamsburg. During his tenure as President of the College, President Bracken apparently resided in the President's House at the College.² Other properties which Bracken owned or probably owned are identified by one historian as including another house and five acres on Francis Street which he may have purchased while President of the College;³ four hundred and two acres in the parish of Yorkhampton and the County of York,⁴ included in or perhaps supplemented by eight hundred acres known as "Bracken's Castle";⁵ and property interests in Gloucester County which included ownership and operation of a mill.⁶ Another financial enterprise in which Bracken was involved during the period of this study was the Dismal Swamp Company. Public announcements noting his role as member and manager of this company appeared on 5 December 1808,⁷ on

¹A Map of Williamsburg, Virginia, August 1800, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

²William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Rutherford Goodwin, "The Reverend John Bracken," note 20, p. 359.

⁴Ibid., note 21. Notes in the Stubbs Papers, Folder 47, indicate that the residence of Thomas Ballard, Clerk of York County and Burgess "was subsequently owned by the Rev. John Bracken of William & Mary College" (John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary).

⁵Ibid., Note 22. Trudell notes in his work that John Bracken's estate on the York River was "afterwards owned by John Randolph Coupland" (Clyde F. Trudell, Colonial Yorktown [Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1938], p. 167).

⁶Ibid., note 23.

⁷Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger, 5 December 1808. John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

26 March 1810,¹ and on 25 March 1811.² Also noted in the research was another financial involvement, an injunction involving John Bracken for Francis Willis against William Griffin of the County of King and Queen in August 1791,³ which apparently was resolved favorably for Bracken:

Received of Richard Adams junr. Esqr. one warrant for four thousand two hundred & ten Dollars & 20 Cents of the funded six per Cent stock in the name of W^m Griffin Esqr. in the Books of the Loan Office of the United States kept by John Hopkins Commissioner, to be transferred or sold by me agreeable to a power of Attorney made to me for that purpose by the said Wm Griffin Esqr. dated Oct. 6.th 1792

John Bracken⁴

A financial involvement, noted earlier in this study, which undoubtedly had detrimental effects on the College and its Faculty was Bracken's role as Administrator for the estate of Charles Bellini, Professor of Romance Languages at the College, who died in 1804, and the manner in which he executed his responsibilities as Administrator for Bellini's estate. Correspondence between Bracken and Thomas Jefferson concerning the settlement of Professor Bellini's estate extended over a period of years, 1805 to 1811;⁵ and correspondence between Jefferson and Robert Saunders indicate that an accounting and transfer of funds from the estate to an account in Jefferson's name took place in February 1816.⁶ Jefferson maintained and Saunders, in settling the estate, con-

¹Ibid., 26 March 1810.

²Ibid., 25 March 1811.

³John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"Charles Bellini, First Professor of Modern Languages in an American College." WMQ 5, 2nd ser. (January 1925):14-17.

⁶Ibid., pp. 17-21.

curred in part that "...during all that time he [Bracken] has had the balance in use, he has not kept it constantly locked up & untouched in his desk. The letters I inclose [sic] you will show that he was not always ready to pay."¹ One must conclude that Professor Bracken, though finally legally credited with having discharged his responsibilities as administrator of Professor Bellini's estate, was less than efficient and less than circumspect in doing so. If Bracken evidenced a similar code of ethics in the exercise of his other legal and financial responsibilities, then the question is not so much why was he not consecrated as Bishop but rather why was he elected to this position of leadership in the first place; not so much why was he not functioning in a leadership capacity and exerting the influence of a leader as President of the College but rather why was he elected to this responsible leadership position by the Board of Governors and Visitors in the first place. Was the Board demonstrating a capacity to lead, the ability to lead when making this decision? What were the primary interests, the primary concerns of this man to whom they had partially entrusted the welfare of the College? One is inclined to ascribe to the Board a collective wisdom; and lacking evidence, one cannot ascertain why Professor Bracken was elected (although, as noted earlier, his election was not unanimous apparently). One could safely conjecture, perhaps, that the traditional role of the Church and of the clergy in relation to the presidency of the College was a major factor in their decision; and Professor Bracken's long tenure as a member of the Society was perhaps another.

¹Th[omas] Jefferson to [Robert Saunders], 25 December 1815, WMQ 5, 2nd ser.(January 1925):20.

Whatever the reasons for their choice, the condition of the College was not good. At the time of Madison's death forty-four students were enrolled.¹ Approximately two months later an observer noted that "The College buildings fare better [than the Capitol] but if not reorganized it will soon cease to be a college—There are not more than twenty students in it...."² Writing in January 1814, another observer noted that she expected to go to Williamsburg in a few days "where learning of old reigned supreme over all the Seminaries in the Old Dominion; but where now scarcely a student can be seen gliding by that building which heretofore rang with the voices of the scholars; alas how fallen is that once proud edifice."³ According to available evidence thirty-two students were enrolled at the College in 1812-1813 and twenty-one students for the academic year 1813-1814.⁴ One factor which undoubtedly had an adverse effect on student enrollment at the College during this period was the conflict with Britain, but the College experienced other difficulties as well.

The body charged with leadership responsibilities which emerged at this time to provide the leadership needed appears to have been the College's Board of Governors and Visitors. A little more than one month after the death of President Madison, on April 8th, a notice for vacan-

¹Goodwin, Historical Notes.

²S[amuel] Mordecai to Miss Ellen Mordecai, 25 May 1812, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Mrs. E. B. Kennon to Rachel Mordecai, 10 January 1814, VMH 36 (April 1928):173.

⁴Goodwin, Historical Notes.

cies as of 4 July 1812, was sent by the Rector, Robert M. Nelson, for publication in the Enquirer of Richmond, the Herald of Norfolk, and the National Intelligencer in Washington. The notice noted two vacancies at the College:

The professorship of Mathematicks and Natural Philosophy and the Professorship of Rhetorical, Belle-Letters, Moral Philosophy and Politics in the College of Wm & Mary are vacant. Appointments to fill these vacancies will be made on the 4th July 1812 by the visitors of the College. Gentlemen qualified to fill these stations are requested to make known their pretensions to the visitors. The visitors are requested to attend in convocation on the day aforementioned.¹

Had both of these chairs been filled by President Madison? In all probability they had!

The Board's attention was also directed to the financial needs of the College, the twelfth and thirteenth drawings of lottery numbers. Activities concerning these lotteries were probably put into motion prior to Madison's death; if not, then immediately afterwards. The following appeared in the Virginia Argus on 25 May 1812:

The Twelfth Drawing of The William and Mary College Lottery of Ninety Numbers, took place at Norfolk on the 20th inst. when the following numbers were drawn from the wheel:

50. 43. 5. 48. 10.

Those that have Prizes, will apply for payment to Simon Block, Jr. at Richmond, or Simon Block of Williamsburg.

The Thirteenth Drawing will take place the 16th June, at the Capitol, in Richmond. May 25th 1812.²

Undoubtedly, financial needs remained an ever-present concern for the leadership of the College; however, the only other available evidence

¹Handwritten copy for advertisement by R. M. Nelson, Rector, 8 April 1812. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Virginia Argus, 25 May 1812. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

relating to financial concerns during these two years addressed the difficult question of collecting the surveyors fees due and payable to the College each year. In December of 1813, a little late for accounts scheduled to be rendered and settled annually in December, a notice from the College Bursar, William Coleman, to surveyors appeared in the Enquirer:

Robert Greenbow, Esqr. of the City of Richmond, is appointed agent to receive of Surveyors to whom it may be more convenient to pay than the Bursar, any money for the College of William & Mary. It is requested of Surveyors that they be pointed in rendering accounts and settling annually in the month of December.¹

The extent to which the College was successful in collecting the amounts due is not known. The tone of the published notice was certainly more conciliatory than that of an earlier notice. Thirty-six years earlier, John Bracken, then the newly appointed Clerk of the Society, had submitted a similar request which was published in the Virginia Gazette:

The Steward and Collectors of the College Revenues are desired immediately to send to John Tazewell, Esq.; Bursar, a particular State of their Accounts; and all Surveyors in Arrears, are required to come and settle the same, by the last of October, or they may depend on having their Commissions superseded.

John Bracken, Clk, of the Meeting²

The Board of Governors and Visitors presumably convened on July 4th as requested by the Rector in his public notice; it is noted in the available evidence that three gentlemen were elected to membership on the Board in 1812: William Armistead, of [———]; William Browne,

¹Richmond Enquirer, 21 December 1813. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Virginia Gazette, 15 August 1777. John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

of Williamsburg; and John H. Smith, of King and Queen.¹ Their election probably took place at this meeting. Other matters which received the attention of the Board are noted in three subsequent notices which appeared in the Enquirer. The first, dated 14 August 1812, concerned changes in the Faculty and the organization of classes in the College:

The board of Visitors of the College of Wm. & Mary have made some changes in that institution. The Class of Humanity (Greek and Latin) is put down; and Mr. Ferdinand Campbell, who was the Professor in that Department, is now the Professor of Mathematics, including Gunnery, Fortification & Architecture—A Class of Nat. Philosophy and Chemistry is established, and Mr. McLean of Princeton is invited² to take charge of the department.—Mr. Peter Carr, of Albemarle,³ has been invited to preside over the department of Belles Lettres & Politics; but, we understand, that he declines it.

The closing of the Grammar School in all probability resulted in a decline in enrollment and a concomitant decline in revenues. One could assume that no qualified applicants for teaching mathematics had presented themselves for consideration by the Board; also, the inclusion of gunnery, fortification and architecture could have been credentials which Professor Campbell had and which could certainly be utilized in light of the present conflict with Britain.

On 25 August 1812, a second notice appeared. This notice concerned the lectures, the Faculty, and the regular opening of the College in October:

¹A Provisional List, pp. 51-55.

²Two years later Peter Carr was elected President of the Board of Trustees of Albemarle Academy; and Jefferson, a short time earlier, 23 March 1814, had been elected a member of the Board, although the Academy had existed since 1803 and still existed at this time on paper only. Why Peter Carr declined the appointment as Professor of Moral Philosophy, Belles Letters and Politics is not known. Could he have been dissuaded by Jefferson as was Francis W. Gilmer in 1818? Herbert B. Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), pp. 56, 110.

³Richmond Enquirer, 14 August 1812.

The Lectures in William and Mary College will commence on the third Monday in October next. The Department of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry will be under the direction of Doct. John Maclean, whose eminent talents have for years been acknowledged in the college of Princeton.

Mathematics and the several branches connected therewith will be taught by Mr. Ferdinand Campbell formerly Professor of Humanity.

Moral Philosophy, Belles Letters, Political Economy &c. will, it is hoped to be under the management of Mr. Peter Carr. Should he however decline accepting the appointment, the visitors and governors will without delay supply the vacancy.

It is strongly recommended to all those who wish to attend the course to enter at its commencement, as great inconveniences arises to the Professors, and still more so to the students from late entrances.

A third notice appeared on the 14th of November 1812.

William and Mary College—The course of Lectures in the College of William & Mary, commenced as usual on the third Monday of October. The visitors not having appointed at their last meeting, a Professor of Moral Philosophy, Belles Lettres, &c. the duties of that Professorship are for the present discharged by Dr. Maclean and Mr. Campbell. The Lectures on Law, Police, &c. by the honorable Judge Nelson, will begin on the 20th of the present month.²

It is evident from these notices that the Grammar School was closed; that the course of lectures were being taught by three professors, two of whom had assumed responsibility for the lectures of a fourth and as yet unfilled professorship, a Professor of Moral Philosophy, Belles Letters, Political Economy, &c. No mention is made of President Bracken who, one would assume, was functioning as President and Chaplain but not as a Professor in the College. Even his filling of these two roles was apparently a subject of discord and debate. One of the Visitors wrote to Jefferson in December of 1812:

¹Richmond Enquirer, 25 August 1812. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Richmond Enquirer, 14 November 1812. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

The best interests of our Country should not be jeopardized for the sake of preserving the words of our Royal Charter,....If he was to continue Chaplain, the people would not so much complain; but that office should be put down altogether, or at any rate left vacant. The connection between a Litterary Institution and the Church seems to be as preposterous and absurd as the connection between the Church and State. Custom appeared to have riveted a Chaplain on the House of Delegates; but principle and reason prevailed after repeated efforts and I trust the office in our Colledge will experience a similar fate.

Sample's letter to Jefferson was also concerned with a Mr. Meigs whom Jefferson had recommended to the College as a possible candidate for the vacant professorship:

At the first meeting of the visitors after the receipt of the letter you did me the favor to write me, I laid before the board the information which you communicated with a view to the Interests of the Colledge of Wm. and Mary. Measures were immediately adopted to ascertain whether Mr. Meigs was fitted for the vacant department, which we are extremely solicitous to fill with an able and profound man.

Jefferson, as has been noted, had corresponded with President Madison from time to time regarding various persons and professorships. Sample's letter indicates Jefferson's continued interest in the welfare of the College. In a letter written almost a year later, 9 November 1813, Jefferson communicated a continued interest in William and Mary but from a somewhat different perspective, removal of the College to a different locale and a different man serving as president of the College:

I found in Correa³ every thing good and valuable as you had notified me. The only circumstance of regret was the necessity of parting with him. What a misfortune that we cannot liberalize our

¹James Sample to [Thomas Jefferson], [— December 1812]. John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³Abbē Correa was a distinguished European botanist who had served Portugal as foreign minister at Washington.

legislators so far as to found a good academical institution. W.^m & Mary College, removed to a central and healthy part of our state, with such a man as Correa for it's [sic] president instead of the simpleton Bracken, would afford a comfortable look into futurity. but there is something in the constitution of our legislators which does not permit a choice of the best wood for that fabric.¹

Perhaps it should be here noted that fewer than four years later, in the same letter in which Jefferson advised his correspondent that Mr. Bracken had at length settled Mr. Bellini's estate, Jefferson wrote concerning another college, not the College of William and Mary; and the evolution of the University of Virginia was in its second stage, the building of Central College.² The College of William and Mary could ill afford to have a weakened leadership such as it now had in President Bracken.

The other body charged with leadership responsibilities, the Society, seems to have provided a supportive role and on the part of some, perhaps, a leadership role. As noted, Professor Campbell assumed the responsibilities of a new professorship (for him at least) and shared the responsibilities of an unfilled professorship. William Nelson continued in his role as Professor of Law. Professor MacLean, though a new member of the Society, shared responsibilities for the unfilled professorship in addition to his own lectures. This the Society did in spite of the fact that they had a President who, for whatever reasons, was not carrying the load traditionally borne by the

¹Th[omas] Jefferson to William Short, 9 November 1813, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Th[omas] Jefferson to [———], 1 August 1817, WMQ 5, 2d ser.(January 1925):27.

President, at least in recent years. The appointment of one other faculty member in 1812, [———] Wood, is included among those listed for the years 1693-1888. No other evidence concerning this appointment has been noted by the author.¹

Some evidence of the interest and dedication of the Society during this time has survived. On 9 July 1812, the Society passed the following resolution concerning some of the students:

Whereupon resolved that a vote of approbation be given to the following students for their good demeanour, and attention to their studies: Lewis Tyler, W^m Brodnax, Nathaniel Miller, Lewis Rogers, W^m A. Winston, Archibald Harrison &c.²

The resolution of the Society on 7 July 1813, indicates that the conflict with Britain, a declared war since 18 June 1812, had become a physical reality for the College; and an appropriate concern for the students is exhibited:

The Society took into consideration the general conduct of the students during the last course, and also the proficiency which they respectively manifested during the same; the public examinations having been interrupted by the occupancy of the College as Barracks for the Militia.³

A letter dated 2 August 1813, indicates the arming of the students during this particular crisis. Writing from Richmond, Mary Andrews described the landing of British troops and the effect on Williamsburg:

Your letter to Charlotte my beloved Friend reach'd. just as we were setting out for this place, & I hasten to relieve your friendly anxiety—we suffer'd in the general panic that persecuted Wmsburg

¹ A Provisional List, p. 50.

² WMQ 27, 1st ser. (April 1919):233.

³ An extract from faculty minutes, 7 July 1813. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 55, Faculty Records, Archives, College of William and Mary.

when they Brittish landed within 4 or 5 miles of us for we had then not more than 50 militia in the place. The Students however went out & every Boy that cd. hold a musquet & I must own I lost Fears for my own safety for anxiety for the precious Lives that might be lost. Dear [—] was not in action tho' only 15; he was sent with a Cart for Bacon for the Troops that were expected. I dreaded his being taken with his Cargo by the Enemy however he arrived safe but poor Fellow he had to walk 8 miles back & his Shoes did not fit him he was obliged to take them off he met so many flying he concluded the Town was Taken but he came on determining to share the Fate of his Friends there; that Even:⁸ we had a large reinforcem. of Troops who poor Fellows march.^d upwards of 36 miles in a Day one of the Hottest ever felt they too expected to have the Enemy to dislodge but thank God they left our Coast without Bloodshed except if the animal Execution & it is generally now believed they meant only to forrage; but by it our Troops were harrass'd by fatiguing marches in such hot Dry weather many of them fainted on the Road; had they been sent sooner they might have come more leisurely & comfortably; & too have saved Hampton The Troops there fought nobly but they were absolutely sacrificed by not having been forwarn.^d in time our friend Major Corbin is still suffering with dangerous wounds he recd indeed his Life is a miracle as he led on our Troops 40 men were seen to level their musquets at once at him his Horse was shot in the Head & yet carried him six Miles after he was wounded in his thigh, & arm—

Evidence of the continuing effects of this war (for which a peace treaty was signed on 24 December 1814, but whose last and bloodiest battle was fought 8 January 1815) on the College is noted in an extract from the proceedings of the Society on 9 March 1814:

The Society granted permission to Jackson Morton to withdraw from college during the remainder of the course, his Guardian having given him general instruction to do so, if interrupted in his studies by the military calls.²

As noted, the war undoubtedly had an adverse effect on the College at this time including both the number of students enrolled at the College and the number completing their studies.

¹Mary Andrews to Mrs. Elizabeth Whiting, 2 August 1813, Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, Whiting Papers, Folder 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²An extract from proceedings of the Faculty, 9 March 1814. WMQ 27, 1st ser. (April 1917):233.

No other evidence concerning the proceedings of the Society has been noted. However, the loss of one member of the Society, Judge William Nelson, Professor of Law, and the degree of esteem and the respect which the students had for Professor Nelson is noted in a resolution of the students at the time of his death in March 1813. Published in the Enquirer, at their request, the resolution read as follows:

At a meeting of the Students of Wm. and Mary College on the 8th inst. the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

We the Students of William & Mary College deeply impressed with a sense of our loss in the death of the late Hon. Judge Nelson, professor of Law in this college, and filled with sentiments of the highest veneration for the unparalleled virtues that adorned his private life, and with the utmost admiration of those talents and patriotic exertions which so pre-eminently distinguished him in his political services are anxious to pay to his memory the only tribute of respect which the nature of things has left in our power to bestow, wherefore,

Resolved, that in testimony of the high estimation in which we hold the memory of the late Judge Nelson, the Students of William & Mary will wear crape on their hats and left arms three months.

Resolved, to testify further the emotions of deep felt sorrow which throb our bosoms in this most sad award of providence, that the students in procession attend his remains from his late residence to the chapel the place of interment.

Resolved, that the proceedings of this meeting be published in The Enquirer.

Richard H. Field, Chairman.¹

Other evidence noted concerning the students indicates that in spite of the fact that the Society did not have a full complement of Faculty, that the realities of war were at their doorstep, and that the President of the College was apparently a controversial figure who was less than adequate in filling a leadership role, the College did provide

¹Richmond Enquirer, 19 March 1813, Archives, Virginia State Library.

instruction, examinations, and the opportunity to complete degree requirements within the framework of the regular academic calendar. A notice, probably published at the request of the Board of Governors and Visitors, dated 4 February 1813, announced "The Semi-Annual Examination of the Students of Wm. & Mary College, will commence on the second Tuesday of February."¹ Following the death of Professor Nelson, who, if anyone, conducted the lectures in law for the remainder of the session cannot be ascertained from the available evidence. One could conjecture that Robert Nelson, who first served as a member of the Faculty in 1811,² assumed responsibility for the conduct of these lectures. The landing of British troops, the apparently brief arming of the students, the interruption of the examinations by the occupancy of the College as barracks for the militia in July of 1813 all served to make commencement and oration exercises an unlikely eventuality. Whether the Board of Governors and Visitors met as usual is not certain. One could assume that they did not; no members were elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors in 1813.³

A sense of urgency is communicated in the notice published by the Rector on 17 September 1813. The College had not only experienced the loss of the late Professor Nelson, but the Professorship of Moral Philosophy was still vacant and the Professorship of Chemistry filled by John MacLean was vacant as well. Apparently the only faculty member who

¹Richmond Enquirer, 4 February 1813. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²A Provisional List, p. 50.

³Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, pp. 51-55.

was still at the College was Ferdinand Campbell, the Professor of Mathematics; and, one would assume, President Bracken was still serving the College as President and Chaplain:

The Governors and Visitors of William & Mary College, are earnestly requested to meet in Convocation at their Council Chamber, on Tuesday the 12th of October next.

It is of utmost importance that the vacant Professorships be filled as soon as possible, that time may be given for a due notification to the public of the studies to be pursued the ensuing term.

Robert Saunders,¹
Rector.

The Vacant Professorships are

1st.	Law and Police——	Annual Salary	\$500
2d.	Moral Philosophy, &c.	Do.	\$600
3d.	Chemistry, &c.	Do.	\$600

Fees——Twenty Dollars to each Professor attended.

September 17.²

The regular opening of the College was the third Monday in October. Time was of the essence indeed.

Unfortunately no evidence is available to indicate who filled the vacant professorships for this year. It is noted that one member of the Board of Governors and Visitors, William Browne,³ served as a member of the Faculty in 1814.⁴ That classes were held is evidenced by the public examinations held on 1 July 1814, and the commencement orations

¹Robert Saunders was elected to the Board in 1800. A Provisional List, p. 55.

²Richmond Enquirer, 17 September 1813. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³William Browne was elected to the Board in 1812. A Provisional List, p. 51.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 49.

and awarding of degrees on 4 July 1814.¹ The public notice which appeared on 6 August 1814, noted the following:

The Public Examination of the Students of W^m and Mary College, terminated on the 1st of July, at which the several classes exhibited the most satisfactory proofs of their literary and scientific improvement.

On the 4th, the citizens of Williamsburg and its neighbourhood, with the Professors and other members of the University, convened in the church; where the exhibitions commenced with an animated Oration, spoken by William S. Peachy, on the subject of Commerce. Degrees of A.B. were then conferred on the following Students, Viz: Eliazar Block, Julius K. Horsburg, and Henry H. Shields.

An address was afterwards delivered by Mr. Block, on Expatriation, the right of which he advocated with ability.

Mr. Horsburg concluded with a handsome and well written Essay on Advantages of Liberal Education, an utility of Class'cal Literature in particular; which he considered to be the best foundation of good taste, solid judgment, and correct and philosophical knowledge of the modern languages.

In the intervals between the Orations the Audience was gratified with several fine pieces of music on the Organ.²

We see here again evidences of the leadership role exercised by the Board of Governors and Visitors. Eliazar Block was probably Eliezar Black who matriculated in 1812.³ A fourth student reportedly receiving the A.B. degree in 1814 was Richard Cocke.⁴ These four students are noted among "Titled Graduates of William and Mary" as having received degrees in 1814-15.⁵ Five students are noted as having received the

¹Richmond Enquirer, 6 August 1814. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³A Provisional List, p. 7.

⁴Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153; Richard Coke in A Provisional List, p. 13.

⁵Ibid.; Julius K. Horsburg is noted as J. K. Hornsborough. In A Provisional List a Junius K. Horsburgh is noted (p. 22).

A.B. degree in 1813-14: Edward Boisseau, William Brodnax, James Brown, Robert T. Thompson, and Lewis C. Tyler;¹ and seven students received the A.B. degree in 1812-13: James S. Gilliam, Carter Harrison, Wade Mosby, Thomas G. Peachy, James Prentiss, Edward Terry, and William B. Tyler.² One of these titled graduates, Howard Shield, and perhaps Julius K. Horsburg (Junius K. Horsburgh,³ J. K. Hornsbrough,⁴ Junius Hosburg⁵) and Richard Cocke (Richard Coke⁶) were included in the class roll of the Department of Humanity dated 9 March 1812.⁷ Of these sixteen students, eleven matriculated as students in 1811, three in 1812, and two in 1813.⁸ Though lectures were held in Law and Police, no L.B. degrees were awarded during this period; however, as previously noted, seven L.B. degrees were awarded in 1811.

Four pieces of manuscript, only one of which is dated, provide some evidence regarding the sequence of events as the school year drew to a close in 1814. The condition of the College was apparently not a happy one; this led to the appointment of a committee to investigate the causes and report their findings:

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³A Provisional List, p. 22.

⁴Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

⁵"Roll of the Professor of Humanity March 9th, 1812," WMQ 25, 1st ser.(April 1917):237.

⁶Ibid.; and A Provisional List, p. 13.

⁷"Roll of the Professor of Humanity March 9th, 1812," WMQ 25, 1st ser.(April 1917):237.

⁸A Provisional List, pp. 7-41.

The committee appointed to enquire into, and report on the cause or causes producing the present, unhappy state of the College, having convened according to appointment; Report—that by a communication, through Maj.^r Corbin,¹ from The Rev. Mr. Bracken, they are informed that he is willing to resign the presidency of the College, whereby such a change will be produced in the state of the university, as to induce them to decline making any report on the subject referred to them,² until further directions from the convocation.—31st. May 1814—³

The Board apparently adopted the following resolution:

Resolved That the Right Rev.^d John Bracken President of William & Mary College be—requested to inform this Convocation in direct & explicit Terms whether or not he will consent to resign his office at this time,—on the terms proposed by him thru Maj.^r Corbin.—To witt that he would resign at this time if he were allowed to retain possession of the House now occupied by him until the 1st of Oct. next.—³

Subsequently, it is assumed, the following communication was made to President Bracken:

The convocation of Visitors and governors of the College of W. & M. having been informed, through your friend Major Corbin, that you are willing to resign the presidency of the college; request to be apprised of your Determination thereon in writing, that they may be thereby furnished with a Document to Justify their future proceeding as well relating to the office of president as the professorships of the University.—

The convocation have no objection to your retaining the use of the house you occupy till the 1.st of Oct. next.—

Signed W. Browne Rector.—⁴

The fourth surviving manuscript is concerned with the requirement that the President of the College be of the clergy, a very probable reason

¹This is probably the Major Corbin wounded in the battles in the summer of 1813 mentioned by Mary Andrews.

²William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.; William Browne was elected to the Board in 1812. A Provisional List, p. 51.

John Bracken was chosen to be President in the first place—a fact intimated by James Semple in his letter to Jefferson in December of 1812.¹ This Statute was probably repealed after President Bracken was requested to resign and, of course, paved the way for the Board to select a lay person for the first time in the history of the College as the next President of the College of William and Mary:

Whereas great & singular inconvenience results to the College Be it ordained by the Visitors and governors of Wm & Mary College that so much of a statute concerning a President as requires him to be a man "in holy orders, of eccles[tor]n[tical] benefices that a [——] cure souls annes[——], he shall not profess more than one, and that of so near a distance from the College, that it may not hinder his ordinary care & attendance upon the College" and also so much of the said statute as requires the President to have a "theological lecture four times a year in the explication of Scripture, on some theological subject, or on some² controversy against hereticks" be and the same is hereby repealed—

No other evidence concerning President Bracken's administration is available. It is not known whether there was dissention among the members of the Board of Governors and Visitors regarding the request for his resignation or not; the election of a new Rector, William Browne, is noted on the signature of one of the surviving manuscripts,³ and research does reveal that six new members were elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors in 1814: Thomas Griffin, of York; William A. Macon, of New Kent; Robert G. Scott, of Richmond;⁴ Henry Skipwith, of

¹James Semple to [Thomas Jefferson], [—— December 1812], John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

⁴Robert G. Scott was the late President Madison's son-in-law.

Williamsburg; Thomas G. Smith, of Middlesex; and John Tyler,¹ of Charles City.²

On the 15th³ or 16th⁴ of June 1818, President John Bracken died "at his residence in Williamsburg...in the 73d year of his age....His remains were interred in the family burying ground, at the Grove, (the seat of Carter Burwell, Esq.) near Williamsburg."⁵ It was said of him:

In the relations of parent and master, no man sustained his duties in a more exemplary manner; and in administering to the wants of the needy and afflicted, he did not wait to be solicited for alms, but looking with the eye of a father into the condition of his fellow-men, he was prompt to administer to the wants of the necessitous without ostentation, and to alleviate the burthens of all who were "weary and heavy laden."⁶

Lacking, one would assume, much evidence and possessing so little, one is reluctant to evaluate the contributions of an individual. In light of the evidence that is available, however, one must conclude that during the administration of President John Bracken, the College suffered from a loss of leadership on the part of its President; and without the leadership exercised by the Board of Governors and Visitors, one

¹John Tyler was later to become President of the United States.

²A Provisional List, pp. 52-53, 55.

³Richmond Enquirer, 24 July 1818. John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴American Beacon, 22 July 1818. John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

is forced to question whether or not the College could have survived during this period. True, his election to the presidency was the handiwork of the Board. It is also true that among the Faculty, Professor Bracken was certainly the senior member of the Society in terms of years of service to the College; he was also a member of the Episcopal clergy, having occupied several of the highest positions in the Diocese of Virginia and occupying at the time of his election the rectorship of Bruton Parish. Was perhaps his state of health such that he was never physically able to provide a leadership role for the College? On the basis of the available evidence it would appear that he was still actively involved in the affairs of the Church and in pursuing personal financial interests and conducting personal affairs. Perhaps his election was only nominal, and he was not given an opportunity to provide leadership; yet deference to his interests, welfare, and position is indicated in the Board's request for his resignation in 1814. In light of the available evidence, these questions cannot be answered; and one is forced to accept the fact that he did not provide for the College the leadership his position rightfully demanded. As Earl Gregg Swem noted, "He was not successful. We have known very little about him."¹

The Board of Governors and Visitors did exercise a leadership role; and the basis for their choice of a successor to President Madison and the extent to which they had any real choice in selecting a successor this author believes cannot validly be determined. The Society, to the extent that this body actually existed, must have exercised a lead-

¹E. G. Swem to Miss Nannie M. Tilley, 2 May 1940, John Bracken, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

ership role; for in spite of the loss of an apparently much beloved Professor of Law and in spite of vacant professorships, the College did survive; instruction was provided; public examinations were conducted; orations were delivered; and degrees were awarded. The Grammar School, however, had remained closed during the period of Bracken's presidency. President Bracken apparently resigned with good grace and continued to serve as Rector of Bruton Parish¹ and to maintain a residence in Williamsburg until his death four years later. At some point, probably at their annually scheduled meeting on 4 July 1814, the Board of Governors and Visitors either added six additional members to its membership, at least three of whom were alumni of the College,² or elected six members who may or may not have replaced other members of the Board; and on or before 1 August 1814, the Board began payment of salary to the College's tenth President,³ John Augustine Smith, an alumnus of the College⁴ and the first lay president in the history of the College of William and Mary. Did he provide the leadership the Board surely expected and the College needed? To answer this question and to relate the history of the College during his administration, we look at "The Smith Years, 1814-1826."

¹W. A. R. Goodwin, History of Bruton Church, p. 48.

²These three members were Robert G. Scott, Thomas G. Smith, and John Tyler. A Provisional List, pp. 36, 37, and 41 respectively.

³"A Statute to explain & amend a statute," 4 July 1815. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 37; Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, pp. 20, 153.

CHAPTER IV

THE SMITH YEARS, 1814-1826

On the 6th of August 1814, the Enquirer published a communication dated Williamsburg, 28 July 1814:

William and Mary College

The Visitors and Governours of William and Mary College have the satisfaction to announce to the public, that they have been enabled to fill the respective Chairs in this College. Doctor John Augustine Smith, is appointed President of the College and Professor of Moral Philosophy, including the Philosophy of Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Ethics, Belles-Lettres, History, the principles of Natural and National Law and Political Economy. Mr. Ferdinand Campbell, is Professor of Mathematics which professor-ship will include Geography, Astronomy, Maps & Charts, Dialling, Fortification & gunnery, Perspective & Architecture. Dr. Thomas Jones is appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry which last will embrace Natural History and the Elements of Botany--and the Honorable Robert Nelson is Professor of Law.

The Visitors entertain the most sanguine expectation from the intelligence and character of these gentlemen, that this University will not lose the high reputation it has deservedly acquired.

It is recommended to those young gentlemen who are subject to military duty, and who propose to attend this seminary the ensuing winter, to bring with them a certificate that they are enrolled for duty in some company in the town, or county from which they came.

The City of Williamsburg is very healthy from the first of November to the 4th of July, during which period only is the College open.

Board may be had in genteel private families, on moderate terms.

W. Browne, Rector¹

The Board of Governors and Visitors was continuing to fulfill its leadership role and rather remarkably so considering the fact that less than two months had transpired since the committee appointed to "enquire into ...the present, unhappy state of the College"² had reported that President Bracken was willing to resign the presidency and that they, the Committee, would await further directions from the Board. Who was the man whom they had chosen to be the tenth President of the College of William and Mary? Would he provide the leadership the College needed from her President?

"Doctor John Augustine Smith" should be a President dedicated to the prosperity of William and Mary College; for he was one of her sons, having been a student at the College in 1800,³ and a native Virginian as well. At the time of his election to the presidency of the College, he was a Joint Professor of Anatomy, Physiology and Surgery with Wright Post at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City. He had studied medicine at St. Thomas' Hospital in London; had practiced medicine in Gloucester County, Virginia, on his return to the United

¹Richmond Enquirer, 8 August 1814. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³J. Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary. A Provisional List notes that Smith was a student at the College in 1800 and in 1811 (p. 37); the Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, does not note Smith having received a degree in 1800 but does note he received the degree Bachelor of Law in 1811 (p. 153).

States;¹ and in 1807, had accepted an appointment to the faculty of the newly organized College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York as Adjunct Lecturer on Anatomy.² In 1808, he became Professor of Anatomy and Surgery;³ and in 1811, Professor of Anatomy, Surgery, and Physiology.⁴ Whether his sharing the Professorship of Anatomy, Physiology and Surgery following the incorporation of the medical professors of Columbia College into the faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons played a role in his decision to return to Virginia and accept the presidency of William and Mary is not known. He did state in the obituary address for Wright Post in 1828, which he was elected to give by the County Medical Society, that

...now it has fallen to my lot to hold up, however feebly, to the just admiration of his fellow citizens the only man with whom, in the whole course of my life, I have come into any sort of collision, whose talents and station could for a moment induce me to consider him as a rival.⁵

It would appear President Smith was prepared to accept the leadership responsibilities of the position to which he, the first lay President in the history of the College of William and Mary, had been elected (Perhaps the Board's consideration of Smith for the presidency

¹J. Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²John C. Dalton, History of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the City of New York; Medical Department of Columbia College (New York: Columbia College, 1888), p. 12.

³Ibid., p. 19.

⁴J. Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁵Dalton, History of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, p. 70.

played a role in their decision to repeal the statute which required the President to be a man "in holy orders,...[and] to have a theological lecture four times a year...."¹); for in the same issue of the Enquirer that published the announcement of the Board of Governors and Visitors, an announcement bearing the signature of the College's new President was published also:

William and Mary College

This Institution will be opened on the first Monday in November by an address from the President; the different Professors will then deliver Lectures, introductory to their several courses of instruction, in the following order: Mathematics, Mr. Campbell, Law and Police Mr. Nelson, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, Dr. Jones.

By order of the Society
J. A. Smith, Pres.

Williamsburg, August 6.

The Editors of the Argus, Patriot, Raleigh Star and National Intelligence, are requested to publish the above notices of William and Mary College and send their accounts to the Editor of the Enquirer.²

The notice was subsequently published on September 3rd and again on September 30th.³ The administration of John Augustine Smith began then with a Society consisting of a President and three other Professors, two of whom had been members of the Faculty since 1811—Ferdinand Campbell and Robert Nelson;⁴ and three of whom were alumni of the College—Ferdinand Campbell, Robert Nelson, and John Augustine Smith.⁵ The newly

¹William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Richmond Enquirer, 6 August 1814. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

⁴A Provisional List, pp. 49-50.

⁵Ibid., pp. 11, 30, 37 respectively.

appointed member of the Society, Thomas P. Jones, was from Philadelphia.¹ The Grammar School remained closed; and the Chair of Romance Languages was not filled nor is there indication of a desire that it be filled. In spite of this void in the curricular structure, however, the future of the College looked brighter than it had for some time. The Board of Governors and Visitors was providing an effective leadership role, and the President and the Professors they had secured for the College gave every appearance of a willingness and the ability to provide the academic leadership the College needed.

The College opened on Monday, the 7th of November, as announced; and presumably the Professors delivered lectures introductory to their respective courses, as announced. President Smith did deliver an opening address which was characterized as impressive and argumentative in the Enquirer, the "Communication," dated November 12th, noting that the subject of the address identified four specific causes for the declension of the College:

The Subject in which it treats, is, the causes, of the declension of the College. These are supposed to be fourfold.—First, the pressure of the time by reason of the War in which we are engaged. Secondly: a Law passed about 18 months since by the Legislature of this State, subjecting Students at public seminaries in this Commonwealth, to Militia duty.

Thirdly; Certain unfavorable reports which have gone forth with regards to the doctrines which are taught in the College, &c.

Lastly; The want of Academic discipline in the Institution.²

On the 19th of November the Enquirer published an "Extract from the Address of the President of William and Mary College, at the commence-

¹Richmond Enquirer, 24 November 1814.

²Richmond Enquirer, 12 November 1814.

ment";¹ and, on the basis of this extract, his address undoubtedly did impress and appear argumentative to its hearers; for it included the arguments presented by President Smith in support of the first two causes noted in the Enquirer on the 12th² as reasons for the declension of the College, the War and the Law subjecting the students to militia duty:

The most prominent cause of the present depressed state of the College, is, undoubtedly, the war in which we are engaged. This contest, whether expedient or not, at the time of its commencement, is now waged for rights that can be yielded only with our political existence. Whatever, therefore, [may] be its effect on this institution, there is not, I am sure, a person connected with it who had not rather that the contest were intermible, than that peace were made at so great sacrifice of national honor.

The war, however, has affected us not only by diminishing the disposition as well as the ability of our citizens to give their sons collegiate educations—but it has hurried the legislature with that impetuosity which results from the ardent temperament of our countrymen, to pass an act equally destructive of literature and injurious to the best interests of the state.

Were our young men, from cowardice, to sculk into colleges, or were they from extreme fondness for study, too little disposed to adopt a military life, a law subjecting them to military duty would, undoubtedly, have been proper. But when it is notorious that precisely the reverse is the case—that in lieu of forcing young Virginians into the army, the greatest difficulty which parents and guardians in this state experience, is to prevent their sons and wards from becoming soldiers—was it politic or wise in the legislature to encourage a propensity aired too strong?

....But the greatest objection to the law is the inequity of its operation, for while the rich are exempted from its affect, it is completely fatal to the hopes of the poor man who may wish to give his son the benefit of a collegiate education. The wealthier send their children to other states where juster laws encourage learningNow, want of education, although a serious evil to the wealthy, is absolutely destructive to those who are poor; for riches alone, if unaccompanied by promise at vices, will bestow some degree of

¹Richmond Enquirer, 19 November 1814. John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File and William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Richmond Enquirer, 12 November 1814.

respectability, upon those who possess them; but a liberal education is the only possible means by which the poor can rise superior to the station in which fortune has placed them.

....When then it is seen that this law is not only impolitic and unjust, but entirely null as to that portion of the community on whom it was ostensibly designed to operate, that the sole effects are to injure the less wealthy class of the community, and to send out of the state annually, many thousands of dollars, it is incredible but that it will be repealed.¹

In light of President Smith's arguments, it is not surprising that the College enrollment had declined. It is also evident from his arguments that the leadership position of President is occupied by a man who both recognizes the external problems faced by the College and is capable of and willing to publicly address these problems.

On the 22nd of November this same extract was published in the Petersburg Courier but was preceded by a rather acrid editorial response to President Smith's address; agreeing, it would appear, with Smith's position regarding the law for militia duty but disagreeing that the war was the major cause for the present depressed state of the College, attributing this role instead to the expenses of the boarding houses and the luxurious and dissipated habits of Williamsburg:

The following remarks, extracted from the address of Doctor Smith, the President of William and Mary College at the commencement, and published in The Enquirer, deserve the attention of our Legislature. No law was ever passed so injudicious and so impolitic in its nature, as the law repealing the act which exempted students of Universities from military duty. I must, however, differ from the Doctor in believing the war in which we are engaged; to be "the most prominent cause of the present depressed state of the College." The expenses of the Boarding Houses in Williamsburg, together with the luxurious and dissipated habits of the place, will ever prevent that seminary from flourishing unless some radical change be effected in these respects. In Williamsburg and its vicinity the remains of the ancient aristocracy of Virginia reside. Aristocracy in every form is hideous; but in no shape is it more horrible or dangerous than when stripped of its power or splendor it is left to

¹Ibid.

wallow in idleness, vice and corruption. What progress can youth be supposed to make in their studies, when almost every ancient house in Williamsburg, is at war with morale, religion and science? I know that they cover the snares by which they entrap the juvenile mind with the specious veil of hospitality. When a young man is invited to dinner, detained until supper, and sent home at one in the morning, to batter the windows of the Revd. John Bracken, this is called hospitality. When he is wheedled to a game at Lien; deprived of all the money his parents have sent him, and then intoxicated with Madeira, to cause him to forget his folly and his misfortunes, this is called hospitality. When Tea Parties and Balls, even given by ladies, terminate with the breaking of doors and the maiming of horses, this is only called Williamsburg Hospitality.

But the fallen aristocracy of the old Capital of Virginia, are not content with these arts alone, every means which can be devised to excite the students against their Professors, are employed.—The persecution which Professor Blackburn¹ [suffe?]red, one of the most useful teachers which the College of William & Mary ever had, is a sufficient example of the disposition of the [inhabi?]tants of Williamsburg—Even the mild and amiable Bishop Madison, did not escape their malignity. Yet in this town there are also examples to be found of virtuous habits; but they are rare, and solely confined to those whom the old crazy Williamsburg Aristocrats term "the upstarts of the present generation."²

No other evidence ascribing persecution and maligning of members of the Society to the citizens of Williamsburg has been noted. The effects of even idle gossip, however, can be detrimental to whomever its target may be, an institution or an individual. The text of the editorial did not disagree that the war was a cause for the depressed state of the College; its author simply maintained that it was not the most prominent cause. Further, the author gave President Smith support through agreeing with his views regarding militia duty and stressing that the Legislature should take note of his views also.

¹Professor George Blackburn had come to the College as Professor of Mathematics in 1804. (A Provisional List, p. 49.)

²Petersburg Courier, 22 November 1814. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Two days later the second extract from President Smith's address was published in the Enquirer. A careful perusal of this extract constrains one to draw inferences which differ in part from those outlined in the Enquirer on November 12th. President Smith's statement identifying the war as the most prominent cause of the present depressed state of the College includes, in context, the act recently passed by the legislature: "The war...has affected us not only by diminishing the disposition as well as the ability of our citizens to give their sons collegiate educations—but it has hurried the legislature...to pass an act equally destructive of literature and injurious to the best interests of the state."¹ Had the war and the requirement for militia duty been identified as one cause, and not two, in the Enquirer's "Communication" of the 12th, perhaps the editorial comment in the Petersburg Courier might have been less caustic.

The second, third, and fourth causes stated by President Smith, as noted in the second extract from his address, are, second, that "certain unfavorable reports...have gone forth, with regard to the doctrines which are taught in this Institution....third,...that there was a total want of discipline in the institution....[and] last,...the supposed sickness of this city."² In addressing the second cause, the unfavorable reports regarding the doctrines taught at William and Mary, President Smith made the following assertions:

¹Richmond Enquirer, 19 November 1814, John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File and William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Richmond Enquirer, 24 November 1814. Archives, Virginia Historical Society.

...however industriously the opinion may have been circulated, however widely, it may have been spread, and however confidently it may have been believed, nothing can be further from the truth, than that doctrines hostile to Revelation, were ever taught in this College.

Upon this subject, I can appeal with confidence t[o] the present Governors of the Institution, most, if not all of whom, were educated within its walls.¹

He identified the late President Madison as being the person designated by the critics as the party responsible for the perpetration of the undesirable doctrines. Smith proceeded to characterize those who would so malign President Madison and believe him to be a hypocrite, as being hard of heart and little resembling a Christian:

If he was a hypocrite, naught save omniscience can say who is notBishop Madison ought never to be alluded to within these walls, without having that homage paid, which is due to his worth, his zeal, and his talents....though he wanted some of those harsher virtues which rarely spring in so mild a soil;...though nature had infused into his composition rather too much of the milk of human kindness for the station which he occupied, who ever surpassed him in unwearied exertions to benefit the institution over which he presided. God grant that his successors may ever feel the same attachment to good old William & Mary.²

Smith then stated that in the future the interests of religion would be attended to at the College as much as science; that he thought some knowledge of the rise, progress, and effects of religion to be essential to a well educated gentleman and religion itself to be one of the most efficient moral causes which modify human character; that religion should be well understood by the political philosopher whose object was to discover the latent springs of human actions. To accomplish this he favored a Professorship of Divinity being established in the College. The College had not had a Professor of Divinity since 1779 when two such

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

Chairs were abolished. President Smith is decidedly assuming a leadership role very early in his administration, and a Professorship of Divinity may be the answer to this specific problem.

In addressing the third cause "of the reduced state of the College,...a total want of discipline in the institution,"¹ Smith conceded that some basis for this complaint existed, noting, however, that for reasons well known to all "great pains were taken to blazon forth whatever irregularities were committed by the students of this College, while much greater enormities, perpetrated at other seminaries, were never heard of by the public."² Were these well-known reasons based on politics? religion? jealousy? rivalry? all of these? The reasons cited for a lack of discipline were twofold. First, young Virginians reportedly were absolutely uncontrollable; "they sucked in with their mother's milk, such high spirited notions, as to be ever after ungovernable."³ To solve this problem, Smith noted, the professors, if they could not constrain the youth, could at least expel them. The second reason, which Smith believed to have originated from the public at large, was the public indulgence in the philosophy produced by the French Revolution, "Liberty and Equality, the latter exempting beardless citizens from parental, and of course collegiate authority, the former allowing them to indulge in every untoward propensity."⁴ He further noted that "young men, wherever they went, heard from those whom they

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

respected, that resistance to musty statutes and formal gowns were meritorious, while submission shewed them mean-spirited and above all unmindful of their rights, what possibility was there of professors having any authority?"¹ He based the solution to this problem in the belief that parents and guardians were now convinced that "some degree of restraint is useful at that hazardous period of life...";² if he were mistaken in this, then the "unfortunate youths" could not remain at William and Mary. In this President Smith appeared to be determined and evidenced a strong leadership posture regarding discipline at the College.

In addressing the last cause "of the present reduced rate of our numbers,...the supposed sickness of this city,"³ Smith concurred that for a certain part of the year, the latter part of the summer and the beginning of autumn during which time the College was not open, this was true. During the remaining part of the year, the first of November to the first of July, he maintained that there was no part of the country more exempt from disease, citing the fact that during the past thirty-two years, since 1782, there had been only four deaths among the students and only two of these attributable to complaints peculiar to the area. This argument concerning the unhealthy climate of the Williamsburg area was one used repeatedly by proponents for the removal of the College.

The editorial comment which followed this extract from President Smith's address showed great empathy for the leader of the College and

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

emphasized a belief on the part of the author that the success of the College depended very much upon the Professors who should prepare the best lectures possible and teach their tens, if there be no more, as if they were hundreds; and through the influence of these ten her halls would again be filled, noting that "there are few youths who will run riot after pleasure, if they are employed by study."¹ He lamented "the number of our youths, who were sent to other climes, to learn doctrines less pure, and lay out treasures, which were wanting at home; to Yale, where it is forbidden to read the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July; to Princeton, where certain formularies of faith are inculcated in tracts you must carry with you."² The writer, questioning why this situation even existed, expressed the hope that soon there would be a change; and the youth would pursue an education in their own state: "But we hope a new era has risen upon us. Some of the causes of this depression are removed [President Bracken?]. Dr. Smith is pointing out, and attempting to remove the rest.—Every man who loves the State, or the cause of Learning, will aid him in the good work."³

The author of the editorial had words of praise for the entire Faculty of the College. After noting that the extracts from President Smith's address "rank a vigorous and liberal mind," he noted that Smith was not the only acquisition to the Society:

...Dr. Jones has brought on from Philadelphia his Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus, which in addition to the articles already at the College, presents advantages to the young Students in this

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

respect equal, if not superior, to those which are elsewhere to be met with.

We hail these improvements with delight. We behold in the President a man of vigour and zeal, who will spare no exertions to raise our alma mater virum, the mother of our great men, from the dust.—We behold at the head of the Law Class as pure and ardent a soul as breathes of the breath of life—in the Mathematical Chair, a man who is proud of his calling, and to whose active genius every day and every night brings with it some fresh acquisition.¹

Such words of public praise the leaders of the College could certainly appreciate and use to advantage. The year had been a difficult year for the College; but it had been blest with a Board of Governors and Visitors who had the interest, the wisdom, and the willingness to request the resignation of an ineffective President and to secure for the College a new President and a Faculty each of whom appeared to be well qualified and to be both willing and able to assume and fulfill his proper leadership role at the College.

A list of the students enrolled for this year indicates an enrollment of twenty-one.² Considering the problems encountered and resolved and the fact that the Grammar School remained closed, the enrollment figure could have been even lower. Evidence of an effort to provide instruction at the Grammar School level is noted in an advertisement which appeared in the Enquirer on 29 December 1814, stating that a private school would open in Williamsburg on 2 January 1815, under the auspices of Ferdinand S. Campbell for the purpose of providing instruction for young gentlemen in Greek and Latin and noting that special lessons would be assigned the students for the time Professor

¹Ibid.

²"List of Students for 1814-15," WMQ 25, 1st ser.(April 1917): 237-238.

Campbell would have to be at the College.¹ In this enterprise, the editorial observation that Professor Campbell was a man "whose active genius every day and every night brings with it some fresh acquisition"² is validated, a further indication that the College has, in the Board's appointments, a President and a Faculty who will assume a strong leadership role in conducting the affairs of the College.

The history of the College for the year 1815 is revealed primarily through surviving evidence relative to the actions of the Board of Governors and Visitors at a convocation held 4 July 1815. One new member was elected to membership on the Board, John C. Pryor of Hampton;³ and the Board elected Robert G. Scott of Richmond (son-in-law of the late President Madison) to serve the Board as Rector.⁴ The "Address of the Visitors and Governors," on motion, was recorded, examined, and published, noting Robert G. Scott to be Rector of the College and Leonard Henley, Clerk. The "Address" notes that the anticipated effects of the changes deemed necessary for the College and previously communicated to the public had been amply realized.

¹Richmond Enquirer, 29 December 1814. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Richmond Enquirer, 24 November 1814. Archives, Virginia Historical Society.

³A Provisional List, p. 54.

⁴"Address of the Visitors and Governors," 4 July 1815. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Of the curricular changes it is noted that new and important sources of knowledge had been opened through the establishment of a chemical chair and the purchase of an adequate apparatus, through remodelling of the Moral and Political courses, and through prolonging the period of instruction to three years—the current course of instruction being, first year: Rhetorick, Belles-Lettres and Moral Philosophy, Chemistry, Mathematics as far as Plane Trigonometry; second year: conclude Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Metaphysicks, Natural and National Law; third year: Government and Political Economy, and this year, at the student's election, Municipal Law, and in a short time, Theology, "it is hoped." All students, unless granted special permission by the President, attended these Professors the first two years, except those studying Law; and no student could be admitted who was under fifteen years of age nor could he enter a higher class unless he was prepared in the lower classes.¹

A strict system of Police, it is noted, had been the great and essential improvement; and it had been so effective "that no similar Institution on the Continent, can, it is believed, boast of pupils more exempt from the ordinary vices and follies of youth."² The point is stressed that the cooperation of parents and guardians had been found to be essential in establishing the authority of the Society; and if such cooperation were duly impressed on the minds of the young gentlemen before leaving home—that the inevitable consequence of Collegiate censures would be parental anger or, in the event of expulsion, an

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

almost indelible stigma, "there will be no risk in sending them to this Institution."¹

During this year the Society had written a letter to the parent or guardian of each student, following each of the public examinations, and advised him of the student's proficiency, habits, and deportment; and when deemed necessary, the President had written a special letter. "Thus, the powerful influence of parental authority is immediately called in, to aid in the correction of the slightest tendency to vice which may manifest itself."² Superseding these measures, however, was an effort to appeal to the student's high sense of Honor. This was done at an assembly held on the Saturday prior to the opening of the College on Monday at which time, in the presence of all the Professors, of some of the most respected Gentlemen of the Town, and of their peers, each student was required to sign the following declaration:

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do acknowledge ourselves to be Students in the College of William & Mary, and do consequently promise to obey all the regulations passed for the government of the said College, and in a more especial manner, each of us does solemnly engage and pledge his word and honor as a gentleman, never while he remains a student of the said College, either to game in any way or to any amount, or to be in the slightest degree intoxicated, or to go into a Tavern without express permission from the President, or one of the Professors.³

One further requirement of the students was that upon their arrival in town they were requested to call upon the President. In concluding their published address, the Board of Governors and Visitors delineated, for the benefit of parents and guardians, the expenses for the student

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

attending William and Mary; the total cost for the necessary expenses was determined to be \$220:

Board may be obtained in Town for the Course, at	\$120
Washing, fire, &c. are estimated at	40 ¹
Fees to three Professors,	<u>60</u>

Another action relating to the financial concerns of the College was taken by the Board of Governors and Visitors at the July 4th Convocation, the consideration of a statute to raise the salaries of the President and Professors:

Be it ordained by the Visitors & Governors in Convocation assembled that the salaries of...President & Proff of Moral Philosophy be \$1750 yearly, payable quarterly yearly. Proff. of Chemistry be \$625 yearly, payable quarterly yearly. Proff. of Mathematick be \$1250Proff. of Law & Police be \$750....Proff. of Natural Philosophy be \$625....Be it further ordained that each of the said Proff. receive a sum Equal to the afsaid Salaries for the present year—in lieu of the salaries heretofore made by them.—And that the said Proff. receive such fees as they are by Statute at this time Entitled to receive—²

The Board subsequently, on the same day, passed a statute to explain and amend the above statute, the explanations undoubtedly reflecting the time when each Professor assumed his duties in his respective position:

Be it ordained...shall commence and be paid from the following periods

Pres. & Prof. of Moral Phil.—from the first day of August 1814
 Prof. of Mathematicks—first day of July 1814.
 Prof. of Law & Police—first day of June 1814
 Prof. of Natural Phil.—seventh day of November 1814
 Prof. of Chemistry—seventh day of November 1814

All statutes or parts of Statutes coming within the purview of this Statute...are hereby repealed. This Statute shall commence and be in force from and after the passage thereof.³

¹Ibid.

²Manuscript, 4 July 1815, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Manuscript, 4 July 1815, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary. One

One other surviving piece of manuscript relative to this resolution is a note from the Bursar, William Coleman, to Leonard Henly, the Clerk, dated 6 July 1815: "Will Mr. Henley be kind enough to send to Wm. Coleman a copy of the resolution of the visitors allowing additional salaries to the Professors [at the] College."¹

Another action of the Board was a statute concerning a register of the weather which was to be kept by the Professor of Natural Philosophy. The statute states that in the future it shall be the duty of the Professor of Natural Philosophy "during the time he is in Town" to keep an exact register of the weather 8 a.m., 2 and 8 p.m., noting the height of the thermometer and barometer, the direction and force of the wind, the aspect of the atmosphere, and the quantity of the rain and snow which falls. "And be it further ordained that a copy of the said Register shall be laid on the table of the Visitors at their annual Convocation."² This statute probably was related to the efforts of the President, the Society, and the Board to acquire an empirical rebuttal to the criticism that the College milieu had an unhealthy climate. It is also highly probable that President Madison had kept such a record because of his own interest in such matters and had shared the data collected with the Board at their annual meetings.

historian, R. J. Morrison, notes that "In 1815 the salaries of the Professors were raised to \$1250. with the exception of that of the Professor of Law, Mr. Nelson, which was fixed at \$750." William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

¹Manuscript, 6 July 1815, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Manuscript, n.d., William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

It would appear that the College has had a successful year and that it has a strong leadership in its President, in the Society, and in its Board of Governors and Visitors. Furthermore, the positions charged with leadership responsibilities seem to be working in concert to provide the kind of leadership they believe the College needs. Their published address and the statutes passed indicate that they are attempting, with a marked degree of success, to remove the causes identified by President Smith the preceding November as being responsible for the reduced state of the College, at least those causes over which they could exercise a degree of control; and the Board has recognized the efforts and the successes of the President and of the Society and has rewarded each of them monetarily. This speaks well for both the Board and the Society and, perhaps, the generosity of some of the alumni; the funds had to come from some source, and the financial health of the College has not appeared to be too good in the recent past. Their combined efforts, it would appear, have produced the desired results. Four students were awarded the degree, Bachelor of Arts: Eliezar Black, Richard Cocke, J. K. Hornsborough, and Howard Shield;¹ and the College had an enrollment of seventy-five for the fall course,² an increase of fifty-four students.

As in 1815, the history of the College for the year 1816 is revealed primarily through surviving evidence relative to the actions of

¹Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

²Goodwin, Historical Notes.

the Board of Governors and Visitors at a Convocation held on July 5th and July 6th. Whether or not the Board met on 4 July 1816, as had been its custom, cannot be ascertained from available evidence. However, one of the actions taken by the Board on July 5th was the passage of a statute to change the calendar dates for the opening and closing of the College and for the annual meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors:

Be it ordained that the president & professors shall annually open the College on the last monday [sic] in October instead of the third monday in October and close it on the 15th of July instead of the 4th of July and that the annual convocation of the visitors shall hereinafter be held on the ninth day of July instead of the 4th day of July.¹

This piece of manuscript is signed on the back by a committee consisting of "Mr. Smith, Mr. Semple, Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Pryor."² The College had opened on the first Monday of November in 1814; perhaps it had opened on the third Monday of October in 1815. The annual meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors had been held traditionally on the 4th of July; and the public examinations of the students and awarding of degrees had been held on the 4th also. The reasons for these changes are not available to us. The most distant Board member was Robert G. Scott, the Rector, who resided in Richmond; the other members were within the forty mile radius deemed by Madison, as noted earlier, to be the most desirable if the Visitors were to be useful to the College, the President, and the Society and able to attend a meeting when summoned.³

¹Manuscript, 5 July 1816, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³Virginia Gazette, 22 November 1776.

Another action of the Board which probably took place on the 5th of July but which could have transpired on the 6th was the passage of a resolution relating to the performance of Thomas P. Jones, Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy:

Resolved, therefore, that the Rector be requested to address a Letter to Doctor Jones informing him of these proceedings, and enclosing a Copy of them, expressing to him that the Visitation will be ready, at any time, to hear him relative to the course and also the manner in which his duty has been performed, assuring him that the most prompt and decisive measures will be taken to enforce the opinions which they have expressed—¹

The document outlined the steps taken by the Board and their reasons for having taken such procedures:

The Visitation have enquired into the State of the schools in the course of Instructions of the professors, and the manner in which the Lectures have been conducted and delivered by them in their several departments with a view not only to their own information, but, in order that they might present² to the public a just opinion of the improvement of the Institution.

Such an evaluation of the Faculty and the curriculum of the College certainly indicated an active interest in the College and a sense of responsibility to the College and to the citizenry of the Commonwealth. This exercise of responsible leadership by the Board may not have been the most desirable for the Faculty; on the other hand, some of them may have welcomed such a degree of interest and responsible leadership. Be that as it may, the result of the inquiry was that they had determined the lectures delivered by Professor Jones during the last course, in both chemistry and natural philosophy, to be unsatisfactory to the Society and not such as were expected by the students. The Board noted

¹Manuscript, n.d., William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

further that the "partiality manifested for the chemical School, and the high recommendation which introduced the present professor of Chymistry into it, justified the hope that this particular department would have been conducted with that assuidity and ability which would have stamped a character on the professor....[and they had expected a] corresponding diligence and attention in the school of natural philosophy."¹ Their hopes had not been brought to fruition; and they did not know the causes of "these seeming defects [but felt] it as a duty to themselves, to the institution and to the public, to endeavor to correct it ^{them} —...the high trust imposed in them [compelled them] to guard the institution by that watchful Jealousy which is inspired only by a true devotion to its welfare—"2

The Board's reasons for the salary increases the preceding year, which they had generously made retroactive to the beginning of employment in their present positions for each member of the Society, are clearly stated in their evaluation report as being an incentive given in addition to and even because of an assumption on their part that the desire of each Professor was to exalt the character and to promote the prosperity of the College:

Besides the incentive of great emoluments arising to this Professor, the visitation believed that a much more powerful stimulus to great exertion would have been felt in the desire to exalt the character and promote the prosperity of the College:—and that to attain these objects, the professor of Chymistry & nat philosophy would have made it his duty to devote his whole time exclusively to acquirements suited to his duties: the only means, in the opinion of the Visitation, by which he can maintain the dignity of his Station, and preserve the confidence of the public—³

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

The evaluation concluded with an expression of the responsibilities incumbent upon them as members of the Board of Governors and Visitors which characterizes them as being leaders who are fulfilling their leadership roles:

Whatever feelings may arise from the expression of such opinions, the visitation, actuated only by motives of duty, must sacrifice every thing else to the consideration of the great interests of the College: these considerations require that the Professorships shall be filled by men fit & competent, in every respect, to discharge the duties belonging to them—¹

Professor Jones apparently appeared before the Convocation and provided the members of the Board with satisfactory responses to their questions and observations. A resolution dated 6 July 1816, states this opinion:

Doctor Thomas P. Jones having attended before the convocation in compliance with the above preamble & resolution & given various explanations to the same; Resolved as the opinion of the Convocation that the explanations so given (are satisfactory in relation to the information received by them, as well as in relation to various rumors in circulation operating to the prejudice of Doctor Jones)²

This manuscript appears to be incomplete in light of the parentheses and absence of end punctuation. The torn corner of a piece of manuscript could be the conclusion of the above resolution: "...render it inexpedient to proceed further on the subject—agreed—" ³

¹Ibid.

²Manuscript, 6 July 1816, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Manuscript, n.d., William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary. The back of this piece of manuscript has this notation on the back which could perhaps relate to the discussion regarding Professor Jones not devoting his whole time exclusively to his duties at the College: "Jobing out of... The appearance."

The only other surviving evidence from this meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors is a resolution dated July 6th relating to the Bursar's accounts which had not been submitted to the Board in a satisfactory format:

Resolved that the Statement of the funds of the College as presented to the Convocation is not satisfactory and that it is required by the Visitors that a detailed statement be presented them of the Revenue as well as the expenditures, the amount of the funds, how vested & secured, what¹ funds have come into the hands, of the Bursar & from what sources...

William Coleman had been Bursar of the College since 1804;² he should have known what kind of report was expected of him, and the requirements stipulated in the resolution of the Board seem to be both reasonable and appropriate. It would appear that the present Board of Governors and Visitors was taking its responsibilities for the welfare of the College quite seriously and was assuming a more forceful leadership posture than has heretofore been noted. This has been evidenced in its attitude toward financial affairs, toward the Faculty, toward the public in general, toward the curriculum and the quality of the lectures, and toward the governance of the College in general. It seems to be a very positive force in the life of the College at this time.

No degrees were awarded in 1816; however, the College was now requiring three years of study rather than two. One would assume that the President and the other members of the Society had a successful year; otherwise they would have been censured by the Board as was Professor Jones. It is revealed in the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson

¹Manuscript, 6 July 1816, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²A Provisional List, p. 57.

to Joseph C. Cabell, 2 February 1816, that President Smith had inquired what was the best elementary book on the principles of government? Jefferson's reply to Cabell was that "None in the world equal to the Review of Montesquieu, printed at Philadelphia, a few years ago."¹ He further noted that it had the advantage of being equally sound and corrective of the principles of political economy, that Chipman's and Priestley's Principles of Government and the Federalist were excellent but not comparable to the Review for fundamental principles.² Writing on 4 August 1816, Cabell advised Jefferson that "Dr. Smith has adopted the Review of Montesquieu as the text-book on the Principles of Government, for the students of William & Mary. He will adopt either Say or Tracy on Political Economy, as the one or the other may appear best, when the latter comes out."³ It is a wise leadership posture for President Smith who has a background in medicine to seek the advice of Jefferson who has outstanding credentials in government and who also has a strong interest in education and has assumed a leadership posture in education at both the state and local levels.

The correspondence between two of the Board members indicates that climatic conditions were uncooperative as time for the beginning of the fall term approached. Writing on 20 September, William Browne noted

¹Th:[omas] Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 2 February 1816, John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³Joseph C. Cabell to Thomas Jefferson, 4 August 1816, John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

that "Williamsburg and the area has been flooded."¹ Nevertheless, the enrollment for the fall term was ninety-five,² an increase of twenty students. This was probably the highest enrollment in the history of the College. The Board, the President, and the Society were surely giving the College the leadership needed at this time.

The year 1816, therefore, when viewed from the perspective of the College was a good year, a year marked by increasing enrollment and a wise, dedicated leadership working in concert for the growth and prosperity of the College. There were, however, powerful external forces working to the detriment of the College, to its role in the educational milieu of Virginia and to its continued growth and prosperity. On 14 February 1816, the Legislature passed an act changing the name of Albemarle Academy, chartered by the Legislature in 1803 but still existing on paper only, to Central College. Its passage was a culmination of ideas, efforts, and events on the part of Jefferson, aided in the Legislature by Joseph C. Cabell, which had their beginnings in the three education bills authored by Jefferson, with William and Mary at the apex, and proposed by the committee of revisors of the laws of Virginia (of which Jefferson was a member) appointed by the General Assembly in 1776. Cabell advised Jefferson of the bill's passage in a letter dated "Senate Chamber, February 14th, 1816."³ A primary objective at

¹W[illiam] Browne to Dr. A. D. Galt, Charlottesville, 20 September 1816, Galt Papers, Vol. I, Box 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Goodwin, Historical Notes.

³Joseph C. Cabell to Thomas Jefferson, 14 February 1816, John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

this point was to secure for Central College the county dividend of the Literary Fund,¹ a source of revenue which the Legislature previously had refused to make available to Albemarle Academy, although it had granted the Academy the proceeds from the two glebes, Saint Anne and Fredericksburg, in Albemarle County. The passage of this bill was important to the evolution of a state university as conceived by Jefferson; however, the College of William and Mary was no longer the institution at the apex of his education pyramid as evidenced in a letter to Thomas Cooper of Pennsylvania dated 16 January 1814:

I have long had under contemplation, and been collecting materials for the plan of an university in Virginia which should comprehend all the sciences useful to us, and none others....This would probably absorb the functions of William and Mary College, and transfer them to a healthier and more central position: perhaps to the neighborhood of this place. The long and lingering decline of William and Mary, the death of its last president, its location and climate, force on us the wish for a new institution more convenient to our country generally, and better adapted to the present state of science. I have been told there will be an effort in the present session of our legislature to effect such an establishment....Should it happen,² it would offer places worthy of you, and of which you are worthy.

And on 25 August 1814, in requesting Cooper's advice on curriculum, Jefferson again wrote concerning William and Mary: "In my letter of January 16th, I mentioned to you that it had long been in contemplation to get a university established in this State,...and that this institution should be incorporated with the college and funds of William and

¹Th[omas] Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 5 January 1815, John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Th[omas] Jefferson to Thomas Cooper, 16 January 1814. H. A. Washington, ed., The Writings of Thomas Jefferson: Being His Autobiography, Correspondence, Reports, Messages, Addresses, and Other Writings, Official and Private, 9 vols. (New York: Riker, Thorne & Co., Taylor & Maury, Washington, D.C., 1854), 6:294.

Mary....We are about to make an effort for the introduction of this institution."¹ Less than two weeks later on 7 September 1814, Jefferson outlined the plan for the organization of Albemarle Academy, including suggestions for expanding it into a college with professional schools, in a letter addressed to Peter Carr,² president of the Academy's trustees; this letter was to become instrumental in securing the Legislature's approval in 1816 for establishing Central College and, at a later date, for the University of Virginia.

President Smith had an opportunity at this critical time in 1816 to place his ideas regarding education for the youth of Virginia before the public and to extol the virtues of William and Mary and the role she had played, was playing, and could (would, should) continue to play in providing an university education for the youth of Virginia; but he failed to constructively take advantage of it. On 30 May 1816, Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas wrote a circular letter "to sundry gentlemen, on the subject of a system of public education for the state of Virginia";³ and President Smith was among the selected gentlemen:

Sir, By a resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia, the President and Directors of the Literary Fund are requested to digest and report a system of public education, calculated to give effect to the appropriations made to that object by the legislature, and to comprehend in such system the establishment of one university, and such additional colleges, academies and schools, as shall diffuse the benefits of education throughout the commonwealth, and such rules for the government of such university, colleges, academies and

¹Th[omas] Jefferson to Thomas Cooper, 25 August 1814. Washington, Writings of Jefferson, 6:371-372.

²Th[omas] Jefferson to Peter Carr, 7 September 1814. In Sundry Documents on the Subject of a System of Public Education, for the State of Virginia (Richmond: General Assembly, 1817), pp. 12-18.

³Circular letter from His Excellency Wilson C. Nicholas, Governor of Virginia, to sundry gentlemen, 30 May 1816. In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 60.

schools, as shall produce economy in the expenditures for the establishment and maintenance, and good order and discipline in the management thereof. As President of the Board, the duty devolves on me to collect from every source the information for this important object....To you, Sir, I think it proper to address myself, knowing your attachment to literature, and feeling great confidence that you will not consider your valuable time mis-spent in communicating any ideas which may promote so useful an object. I can assure you they will be received with that high sense of obligation which their importance must inspire.¹

What an opportunity for the President of William and Mary! The door is wide open! And what did he find time to say? On 7 November 1816, he responded. How and when had some of the other selected gentlemen responded? James Monroe, Secretary of State for the United States, responded on 17 November 1816: "It is with regret, that I have been deprived of the opportunity of executing this task, by the pressure of official duties, which have been important and urgent. It is of late only that I have relinquished the hope of executing it in due time."² In this same letter he accepted the "appointment to a place in the visitation of the Central College in Albemarle,...with pleasure; and will be careful to pay all the attention to its duties in my power."³ (Nicholas, as Governor, was patron of the college, and was empowered by the Legislature to appoint a six-member board of visitors; those appointed to this first board were Monroe, then Secretary of State; James Madison, then President of the United States; Joseph C. Cabell, John H. Cocke, David Watson, and Thomas Jefferson. Each of these gentlemen, except Madison who was an alumnus of Princeton, were alumni of William and

¹Ibid., pp. 60-61.

²James Monroe to Governor Wilson C. Nicholas, 17 November 1816. In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 62.

³Ibid.

Mary.)¹ Thomas Cooper, professor of chemistry in Carlisle College, Pennsylvania, responded on 1 August 1816, noting that "I know not what institutions of this kind you have already; I must, therefore, consider the subject as though there were none";² and proceeded to detail his ideas concerning schools, academies, and particularly, universities.³ Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, Connecticut, responded wisely and at length on 16 August 1816;⁴ and Samuel Mitchell of New York responded in a like manner on 16 July 1816.⁵

How did J. Augustine Smith, President of William and Mary College, respond on November 7th?

Sir,....Nothing is easier, than to enumerate the various branches of learning which a general system of instruction should comprehend; and as to the manner in which these should be taught, there is probably neither room nor occasion for any great improvement. But the object of the directors of the literary fund is, I presume, rather to inform those who must otherwise remain in total ignorance, in the humbler but more important parts of knowledge,....the mass of our population is well known to be grossly deficient of even the most ordinary attainments....If my views of the wishes of the directors be correct, it necessarily follows, that he alone can devise a scheme for the fulfillment of their intentions, who is intimately acquainted with the particular circumstances of those who are to be benefited. But my situation and pursuits have always been such as to preclude me from acquiring this minute knowledge of my countrymen; a few general remarks, therefore, evincive rather of my zeal

¹A Provisional List, pp. 28, 10, 13, 43, 23 respectively.

²Thomas Cooper to Governor Wilson C. Nicholas, 1 August 1816. In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 63.

³Ibid., pp. 63-65.

⁴Rev. Timothy Dwight to Governor Wilson C. Nicholas, 16 August 1816. In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, pp. 67-70.

⁵Samuel L. Mitchell to Governor Wilson C. Nicholas, 16 July 1816. In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, pp. 70-75.

for the cause, than of my ability to promote it, are all I can offer.¹

His assumption that the object of the directors did not include a desire "to make a comparatively few proficient in the sublimer departments of science"² completely ignores the request "to comprehend in such system the establishment of one university, and such additional colleges...."³ He proceeds to address his comments toward schools, noting two expedients: first, the adoption of steps to ensure an adequate number of well instructed persons to act as teachers and second, the adoption of a vigilant system of superintendence, noting that failure to attain desired ends arises "not so much from a defect in...plans, as...from employing agents really incompetent; and...from neglecting to superintend those upon whom the details must devolve....[since] a vigour...and perpetual motion has...been found nearly as impossible in the moral as in the physical world."⁴ Regarding the projection of any ideas relative to the incorporation of an university in such a plan as well as what should comprise an university education in such a plan, Smith wrote only: "It would not be altogether decorous, I conceive, for a person in my situation to say any thing upon the subject of an university, but always willing to lend every aid in my power, and awfully impressed with

¹J. Augustine Smith to Wilson C. Nicholas, 7 November 1816. In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 65.

²Ibid.

³Wilson C. Nicholas, Governor of Virginia, to sundry gentlemen, 30 May 1816. In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 60.

⁴J. Augustine Smith to Wilson C. Nicholas, 7 November 1816. In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 66.

the necessity of extending the benefits of education, I remain...."¹
 This decision was not a wise decision. If the President of the oldest and only university in the commonwealth, for, as noted earlier, it had been declared an university, could not articulate her educational program and her role in a system of public education for Virginia, who could or would? Did President Smith at this point essentially abdicate his leadership role as President of the College? It is evident that he thought of expressing his ideas regarding an university and the role of William and Mary but felt constrained to do so. Had he realized the import of the forces at work, would he have made a different decision? Was he a man of this mettle?

The report of the President (Governor Nicholas) and Directors of the Literary Fund was made to the General Assembly in December 1816.² The ideas incorporated in this report were essentially those of Jefferson (whose ideas and counsel Nicholas had sought and received, 2 April 1816,³ prior to writing his Circular Letter) as outlined in his letter to Peter Carr in 1814 and closely resembled the three education bills reported to the Virginia Legislature in 1779. It should be noted that among the recommendations in the discussion of "The University," the President and Directors recommended that there be established "an University to be called 'The University of Virginia'";⁴ that the legisla-

¹Ibid., p. 67.

²"Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, to the General Assembly, in December, 1816." In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 18-34.

³Washington, Writings of Jefferson, 9:65-73.

⁴"Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, December 1816." In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, pp. 18 and 27.

ture appoint "five commissioners, who shall purchase, or accept, in some central and healthy part of the commonwealth [italics the author's], to be designated by the legislature, such a quantity of land, as will be not only sufficient for the use of the University, but to prevent establishments in its neighborhood that would endanger the morals of the students, or their being seduced from their studies";¹ and that "in enquiring into the best means to advance by new institutions the cause of public instruction, we must not be unmindful that we have at present in the state, various academies and a college."² The comments which follow this statement indicate that "a college" is the College of William and Mary:

Several of these academies are believed to be respectable; and the propriety of including them in the general system, by imparting to them a portion of the Literary Fund, has been already suggested. In relation to the college of William and Mary, it affords the President and Directors great pleasure to be enabled to state, that they have every reason to believe that this institution affords at present strong evidence of prosperity; that the professorships are filled with ability; and that the students are numerous, and increasing daily. The commonwealth is greatly interested in the welfare of this institution, and ought to count largely on the assistance it will afford in diffusing the benefits of science and literature amongst our citizens. The funds of this college are believed to be ample for its ordinary expenditure: but if any assistance is required, the President and Directors recommend to the General Assembly to appropriate an adequate sum, out of the Literary Fund.³

Both of the signers of this document, Wilson Cary Nicholas,⁴ President, and William Munford,⁵ Clerk of the Literary Fund, were alumni of William

¹Ibid., p. 29.

²Ibid., p. 32.

³Ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 30.

⁵Ibid., p. 29.

and Mary; but not all of her sons who had power and influence at this time were directing their energies toward insuring her continued welfare and prosperity. It is important to note, however, that even in this report bearing the signatures of Nicholas and Munford, the College of William and Mary is not recommended as the University for the Commonwealth and that the first recommendation¹ of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund was the purchase or acceptance of land in some central and healthy part of the commonwealth, both of which Williamsburg has been pointed out repeatedly as not being, even by the late President Madison. This view continued in spite of President Smith's statistical defense in November 1814, that the College was located in a climate that was healthy during the time the College was in session. The first recommendation also included the stipulation that sufficient land be acquired to prevent establishments in the neighborhood of the university that would endanger the morals of the students or seduce them from their studies. This, too, Williamsburg and its vicinity, even its homes, had been cited on numerous occasions as not being. What was the future for the College? Did she have the leadership her continued welfare and prosperity required? In light of the forces at play, was such leadership possible? At that point in time, yes, such leadership was possible; but did she have it? would she have it?

¹"Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, December, 1816." In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 29.

The Board of Governors and Visitors of the College of William and Mary probably met on 9 July 1817, as agreed in their resolution passed 5 July 1816. Evidence of this is noted among the minutes of the Society for 12 July 1817.¹ On this date the Society, with Smith, Nelson, Jones, and Campbell present, acted on a letter received from a student the "next day" (the 11th) after the sentence of expulsion was pronounced for reasons stated in the Society's proceedings of the 10th. The expulsion resulted in part if not entirely from behaviour of the student, probably on the 9th, during the examinations and before "Gentlemen attending the examination and the Class...."² Because they believed the student's expression of contrition and regret to be sincere, the Society revoked the expulsion provided the student publicly acknowledged his error. President Smith, however, dissented "1st Because it [the opinion] is in direct opposition to the Law which declares, that no student who has been formally expelled, can be readmitted; (according to the President's understanding of that Law)—a Law on which the well-being of the College mainly depends. 2.^{ndly} Because if Contrition, however, sincere, be admitted as a Reason for revoking a Sentence, no punishment can be inflicted."³ The student, Collier Minge, made the requisite apology; and, President Smith's dissention notwithstanding, the expulsion was

¹Surviving minutes of the Faculty, a "Book of the Proceedings of the Society of William and Mary College, July 12th 1817," beginning with this date and continuing through 1835 are bound in two volumes as William and Mary College, Minutes of the Faculty, 1817-1830, for the first volume and the years 1831-1835 for the second volume. Bound Volumes, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 12 July 1817, 1:2.

³Ibid., p. 3.

revoked at the meeting of the Society held on the 16th.¹ The Board was probably involved in the process of supervision, observation, and evaluation of the Faculty and the courses of instruction on the 9th, a role apparently viewed by this Board as an important aspect of its leadership responsibilities.

The Board, as well as the Society, met on the 12th of July; and this body passed a resolution concerning the accounts rendered by the Bursar which they had reviewed and found to be unsatisfactory, as had been their verdict the preceding year. Accordingly, they resolved to require compliance with their resolution of the preceding year and with these added requirements as well:

...& also a detailed statement of the sums paid to the Bursar arising from any part of the Capital Stock of the College from the time the present Bursar came into office, and in such Statement they desire to have distinctly shown from what sources such payments were made whether from the sale of Lands or of other property and also an annual statement from the same period of the investments made of such receipts—[and to this manuscript² is added the query] Mr. Scott, Is the above right and is it all²

Meeting again on the 14th, they repealed the Statute passed the preceding year which changed the calendar dates for the commencement and closing of the College and for the annual meeting of the Board and passed in its stead a Statute stating that "in future the President and Professors or Masters of said College shall annually open the said College on the last monday in October and close the same on the fourth day of July following, and that the annual convocation of the Visitors and Governors thereof shall hereafter be held on the fourth day of July

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 16 July 1817, 1:3.

²Manuscript, 12 July 1817, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

instead of the ninth day of July—" ¹ The resolution did not pass the first time and was ordered to be read twice. ² The reason(s) for these dates having become a subject of debate are not indicated.

The Board was still on campus and actively involved in carrying out its leadership role on the 15th of July, the scheduled closing date for the College. Apparently all members were present except Burwell Bassett who was noted as being absent; ³ and at some point the Board elected two new members to its membership, Charles Everett of Albemarle and Richard C. Moore of Richmond, neither of whom was an alumnus of William and Mary ⁴ and both of whom lived outside the forty mile radius of the College. Surviving manuscripts indicate that at this meeting the Board acted on at least nine resolutions four of which were "agreed to," two of which were "disagreed to," one of which was "withdrawn," and one of which was "negatived" and subsequently restated and apparently passed. The resolutions concerned the handling of College finances, the recording of Faculty minutes, the authority of the President and the Professors, and the collecting of fees for the use of the library:

1. Resolved, that in the opinion of the visitors & Gov: of Wm & M. the Society of Masters and Professors have full power to controul the Bursar of this College and that his reported failure to render to the Society such accounts as have been called for by a convocation will not in the future be a sufficient reason why the Pres= should not cause such statements to be rendered. agreed to—

¹Manuscript, 14 July 1817, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³Manuscript, 15 July 1817, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴A Provisional List, pp. 17 and 29 respectively.

2. Resolved further as the opinion of this convocation, that it is highly improper that the society of President & all P.s should cause any portion of the Production Capitol of the funds of the College to be used & they are enjoined in future from doing so. agreed to
3. Resolved, that this convocation does not approve of the extraordinary expenses which have been incurred by the Pres. for repairs not absolutely necessary to have been made. disagreed to
4. Resolved as the opinion of this convocation that the society have no right to examine into the conduct of any Prof: of this College nor to pass any answer upon such Prof.^r agreed to—
5. Resolved that the President of this College has no authority to inflict any punishment upon or dismiss any student from this College unless by sentence of the society regularly pronounced— agreed to—
6. Resolved that it is the opinion of this convocation that the proceedings of the society of Pr & M. & Prs. ought to be entered & read by the secretary during the sitting of the society & then signed by the Pres. if found to be correctly entered. withdrawn.
7. Resolved that the studies of Every student at this College may be regulated by parent only [?]; provided that no prof. be required to put a student into a higher class of one branch of science before he is properly qualified in the elementary branches of the same. disagreed to.

[Unnumbered]. Whereas it appears to the convocation that during the last course of the College of William & Mary a fee of five dollars was required of each of the students of the same for the use of the Library of the said College which fees amounting to the sum of \$500 has been applied to the use & benefit of the College; and that there is no statute in force authorizing the demanding & receiving of such fees...

Be it therefore ordained by the Governors & Visitors of W^m & Mary College, that hereafter it shall not be lawfull for either the President of the said college or any one or all of the Professors of the same to demanded or receive from any student or students, any fees or other emolument for the use & benefit of the said College, other than such fees as may be now or hereafter properly demandable & receivable under any one or more of the Statutes of the said Governors and Visitors,

All Statutes or parts of Statutes coming within the purview of this Statute shall be & the same are hereby repealed.

This Statute shall commence & be in force from & after the passage of the same. [on the back is written] 15th July 1817, negatived

[Unnumbered]. Be it further ordained that the President & Masters or Professors shall be and they are hereby authorized to receive such fees from the students for the use of the Library as will not only afford to the College, Interest on the principal expended in purchasing Books for the library and incidental charges of purchas-

ing & processing the Books, but also to reimburse the College for the deterioration of the Books.¹

The disposition of this last resolution is not noted. One could assume that it was passed. The sixth resolution was withdrawn perhaps because the Society had already begun to keep a record of their proceedings as of 12 July,² and/or perhaps because there may have been disagreement regarding the requirement that the proceedings be both "entered & read by the secretary during the sitting of the society & then signed by the Pres. if found to be correctly entered."³ Whatever the reasons, the Board appears to have been occupying a dominant leadership role in conducting the affairs of the College.

The Society, too, was active and had assumed a positive and progressive leadership posture both in conducting the affairs of the College and in providing for the welfare of the students and of the institution. In addition to revoking the sentence of expulsion imposed on Collier Minge, the Society proceeded to determine an evaluation for each of the students at its meeting on 16 July 1817. In arriving at an appropriate evaluation, which was then to be communicated to the parent or guardian of each student, the Society "took into consideration the situation of the different Classes, and the demeanour and Improvement of each of the Students during the Course which has just terminated."⁴ The

¹Four manuscripts, 15 July 1817, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²See note 1, p. 314.

³The minutes as recorded in the two bound volumes, 1817-1830 and 1831-1835, are signed by the President except during an interregnum at which time they are signed by another member of the Society.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 16 July 1817, 1:4.

students were reported on in four different groups. Group one, with twenty-three students, received this report: "The first in their respective Classes, orderly and attentive and have made the most flattering Improvements";¹ Group two, with nine names: "Orderly correct and attentive and their Improvement has been respectable";² group three, with four names: "They have made very little Improvement and as we apprehend from want of Diligence";³ and group four, with six names: "They have learnt little or nothing, as we believe on account of excessive Idleness."⁴ Additional individual comments, negative in nature, were made about ten of the students, eight of whose names were not included among the preceding groups.⁵ Other resolutions passed by the Society were these: that the Report endorsed No. 2 among the files of the College Papers be published in the newspapers and a printed copy sent to the parent or guardian of each student, that 150 copies of the Charter be printed under the direction of the President, and that a copy of the Diploma be engraved provided the cost not exceed two hundred dollars.⁶

Although one would assume that the Society met several times during the ensuing months of 1817, no further minutes were recorded in the "Book of the Proceedings of the Society" for this year; and surviv-

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., pp. 5-7.

⁶Ibid., p. 7.

ing evidence of at least two matters of import which undoubtedly required their corporate consideration have been noted. One of these matters was the publication of a syllabus of lectures printed for the "University" at some point in 1817 by W. Fry in Philadelphia.¹ President Smith had not only prepared a syllabus of lectures on government to deliver to the senior students at William and Mary after selecting Montesquieu's Review in the summer of 1816 as the text he would use; but he had also succeeded in having the syllabus published, along with a discourse, which was included in the publication, "A Discourse on the manner in which peculiarities in the anatomical structure affect the moral character."² If the book were printed for the College, as indicated, corporate approval of the Society was probably needed.

The other matter concerned the resignation of one of the members of the Society, Professor Thomas P. Jones, who had come under fire in 1816 at the annual meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors but had apparently been exonerated. Evidence of Professor Jones' resignation is noted in the Enquirer for 5 November 1817. Professor Jones' resignation closely coincided, apparently, with the opening of the fall session at which ninety-two were enrolled,³ only three fewer than were enrolled the preceding term. The Enquirer's publication concerned a

¹John Augustine Smith, A Syllabus of the Lectures Delivered to the Senior Students in the College of William and Mary on Government (Philadelphia: Thomas Debson and son, 1817). John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, Bound Volumes, College of William and Mary. The signatures of William B. Hudnall, a student in 1817-1818 (A Provisional List, p. 22), and of J. B. Hudnall appear in this volume.

²Ibid.

³Goodwin, Historical Notes.

dinner given by the students for Professor Jones on Saturday, November 1st, "as a manifestation of the high respect which they entertain for his character and abilities,"¹ and noted that Professor Jones "has lately resigned."² Included in the communication was the invitation of the students, Professor Jones' reply, the text of ten toasts that were planned as part of the dinner and of nine that were volunteered, and this brief comment concerning the occasion:

The President, Professors and Visitors present of the College were invited to attend. John Mason, jr. was called to the Chair of Presidency, and Junius K. Horsburgh acted as Vice-President. This feast, sumptuous and elegant, was conducted throughout with the strictest regard to decorum.³

In addition to toasts to Professor Jones, to the Visitors, to the President and Professors of the College, to Bishop Madison, and to others, three of the toasts concerned the College itself. These included the second planned toast: "William and Mary College—But lately wrestled from the verge of dissolution—may her prosperity be commensurate with the most sanguine wishes of her best friends";⁴ a toast volunteered by Professor Jones: "William & Mary College—May it ever continue to be the most distinguished Seminary in Virginia—The sun of its prosperity was the first to rise, may it be the last to set";⁵ and a toast volunteered by George C. Dromgoole: "The present flourishing condition of William & Mary College and the fair prospect for the estab-

¹Richmond Enquirer, 5 November 1817.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

lishment of a Central University, are worthy to be considered a new era in the literary character of our State."¹

This last toast indicates an awareness on the part of the students of the actions of the Legislature regarding a system of education for the state; it also communicates the idea that William and Mary is to be the central university. A bill providing for the establishment of a system of schools, academies, colleges, and an university had passed the house 18 February 1817, but was rejected by the Senate 20 February 1817. William and Mary was discussed in the bill in conjunction with the existing colleges:

...the board of public instruction shall have authority to receive from trustees or visitors of existing colleges of William and Mary, Hampden Sidney, and Washington, any proposals which they may deem it proper to submit to the board, for purposes of having their respective institutions embraced within the system of public education....²

The act proposed the creation of four additional colleges—Pendleton, Wythe, Henry, and Jefferson—and discussed the university in terms of a proper site in the center of the commonwealth. No mention is made of Central College in the Bill, but mention is made by Jefferson in a letter dated 1 August 1817:

We are erecting a College in my neighborhood in which with other visitors I have a direction. We are in want of a stone-cutter, not of the very first order, but capable of cutting an Ionic capital when drawn for him, and we suppose we can be better accommodated with one from your place than here, for indeed such workmen are scarcely to be had at all. I am authorized therefore to request you to send us such an one....We will pay his passage to Norfolk or

¹Ibid.

²"A Bill, 'Providing for the establishment of Primary Schools, Academies, Colleges, and an University.'" In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 47.

Richmond, & thence to this place...to serve us three years from the date of his arrival¹ at this place....we shall want him to commence work by april next.

Other letters written by Jefferson during 1817 to Madison, Monroe, Cabell, Adams, and others indicate a great deal of activity—meetings, discussions, correspondence—relative to Central College and to the University of Virginia, including the laying of the cornerstone for Central College 6 October 1817.² Jefferson, it is clear, was thinking of an University of Virginia to be located at Charlottesville.

A resolution which did pass both Houses on 22 February 1817, requested the President and Directors of the Literary Fund to have printed and distributed among the citizens of the commonwealth, certain documents relating to a system of public education for Virginia.³ Included among these documents was "A Bill for amending the constitution of William and Mary, and substituting more certain revenues for its support; proposed by the committee of revisors of the laws of Virginia, appointed by the General Assembly in the year 1776."⁴ The inclusion of this document would indicate recognition of the role of the College of William and Mary in affording Virginians the opportunity for an education; and it would further indicate that other persons in addition to young Dromgoole thought of, and favored, William and Mary as the university for Virginia.

¹Th[omas] Jefferson to [———], 1 August 1817, WMQ 5, 2d ser.(January 1925):27.

²Calendar of the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, Part I. Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State, No. 6 (Washington: Department of State, 1894), passim.

³Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. <2>.

⁴Ibid., pp. 53-60.

The year 1817 had been a year of continued growth and prosperity for the College of William and Mary in spite of the existence of certain negative external forces. The College had enjoyed a strong leadership; however, there appeared to be a power struggle emerging between the Society and the Board, between the President and the Board, and between the President and the Society; and each body as well as the President appeared to be exercising a strong leadership role. The Board seemed to be determined to be thoroughly and accurately apprised of the financial affairs of the College and delegated to the President and the Society responsibility for the Bursar's accounts and accounting procedures and assigned to itself final authority for all monies accruing to or expended by the College. It also assigned to itself complete authority concerning the evaluation of the performance of any Professor and determined that discipline in the College was a function of the entire Society and that the President acting alone had no authority in this regard. Matters relating to placement of students within the curricular structure appear to have remained the responsibility of the Society. President Smith's philosophy regarding the need for constant supervision in order to maintain efficiency in an institution or system, as noted in his letter to Governor Nicholas in November 1816, is evidenced in the resolutions relating to student discipline and to evaluation of Faculty. His assumption of a leadership role is also noted in the initiatives taken regarding repairs at the College and the use of the production capital of the College funds to achieve objectives he, and the Society apparently, determined to be valid and desirable. The Board, however, appears to have assumed the strongest leadership role and appears to be the dominant force in the governance of the institution at this time.

The sequence of events leading up to Professor Jones' resignation just as the fall term was scheduled to begin are not available to us. One would conjecture that his resignation was not anticipated by the Board of Governors and Visitors nor by the President; for it is evident from the available evidence for the early part of 1818 that the College did not have a Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy for the remaining months of 1817 nor did another Professor at the College assume responsibility for these lectures; lectures in these areas simply were not available to the students during the fall session of 1817.

An examination of the "Proceedings of the Society" reveals that minutes of the Society were again recorded in 1818; however, the order of entry is not chronologically sequential. For example, the next entry following the entry for 16 July 1817, concerns a meeting held 24 March 1818; and the order of recording of subsequent meetings was 25 February 1818, 28 February 1818, 17 February 1818, 5 March 1818, 14 March 1818, 16 May 1818, 20 June 1818, and 5 July 1818. The rationale for such a procedure is not clear. It is evident that a systematic procedure for recording the proceedings of the Society had not been agreed upon nor were the records always kept; or if so, they did not at this point get written down in the book designated for this purpose. And as had been the case in 1817, no records were entered for 1818 following those entered for the meeting held on July 5th for the purpose of evaluating the students at the end of the second course.

The professorship vacated by Thomas Jones was not filled until February 1818. Professor Robert Hare, his successor, was present at the

first recorded meeting of the Society on 17 February but did not formally take his seat as a member of the Society until 25 February after he had been chosen by the Visitors, probably on 23 February, as Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy "in place of Dr. Jones who resigned that Professorship."¹ It is clear from the nature of the meeting on the 17th that the College had not had a professor for nor lectures in chemistry and natural philosophy prior to Professor Hare's arrival; for the purpose of the meeting was to consider some papers delivered to Professor Hare, addressed to the Society of Professors, and signed by forty-five of the students. In these papers the students were objecting to a full fee being charged for attending the lectures in chemistry and natural philosophy for the remainder of the course. They deemed the matter to be urgent and to be no fault of theirs, noting that if the same advantages could be derived from the course at this point that could have been derived from last November, then students had been previously unnecessarily confined for the same lectures. They also pointed out that it was the custom for students entering after the February examinations to pay only ten dollars in fees, instead of twenty; and that furthermore, many students who had remained at the College especially to join these classes would forego this opportunity rather than submit to what they viewed to be an imposition.² The remonstrance had apparently gone from the students to President Smith, back to the students, and then to Professor Hare who brought it to the attention of the entire Society; for following the forty-five signatures was the statement:

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 25 February 1818, 1:13.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 17 February 1818, 1:19-20.

"This remonstrance was addressed to the Faculty, in the supposition that they had the Rights of determining the Fee to which it relates, but we have been informed by Dr. Smith that it rests with you. We expect an answer this Evening, in order to determine our future course."¹

The Society resolved that the students had not "demean[ed themselves] with at least that decorum which the Rules for polished life require"² and that a written apology should be made to Professor Hare. The Society further stipulated that any student who did not sign the apology declaration would be suspended and would remain suspended until he did sign the apology. On 2 March twenty-six students signed a document which opened with the statement: "Agreeably to the Recommendation of the President we whose names are hereunto subscribed this morning convened...."³ The students proceeded to state that the only apology they could conscientiously make to Dr. Hare was that their remonstrances proceeded out of no animosity toward him as a man or professor, that they had no intent to wound him or to insult him; but they would not retract any statement in the remonstrance and hoped their apology would be acceptable; if not, "we console ourselves with the reflection that in our recent conduct we have only performed our duty."⁴ At a meeting of the Society on 5 March, it is noted that two students, Hes and Glascock, had offered an apology to Professor Hare which was later determined to amount to nothing, "whereupon Resolved that they be forthwith suspended

¹Ibid., pp. 20-21.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 2 March 1818, 1:22.

³Ibid., p. 21.

⁴Ibid., pp. 21-22.

from the College unless they subscribe the acknowledgement contained in the proceedings of the 2nd March."¹

A letter written by Margaret Page of Williamsburg to her sister, Mrs. Lowther, in Edenton reveals a public view of the problem with which the Society, and the students, were confronted at this time:

I fear Doctor and M^{rs}. Sawyer, have been made unhappy by the late proceedings of the President, and Professors of William & Mary College! The general impression here is that their conduct has been equally as reprehensible as that of the Students! I am very Sorry that Samuel sign'd the Remonstrance, and had I heard of it previous to his doing so, would have done all in my power to have prevented it, but before I was inform'd of the transaction, he thought he had gone too far to retract with honor!²

Samuel T. Sawyer was a student at the College in 1817-1819,³ and, according to Margaret Page, had had the approbation of all while a student at the College, at least up to this point:

I have great pleasure tho' in assuring M^r and M^{rs}. Sawyer, that in every other respect his Conduct since he came here, has been such as to receive the approbation of every Body, and that M^{rs}. Tazewell (whom you must recollect) and with whom he Boards, speaks of him in the highest terms—⁴

The next statement in Margaret Page's letter would indicate that the Society probably did not accept the apology contained in the document signed by twenty-six students on the 2nd of March and that these twenty-six students were probably suspended by the Society: "I hope he has sent his Father a Piece which has appeared in the Richmond Enquirer, written by a committee, appointed by the twenty Six Suspended Students,

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 5 March 1818, 1:24.

²Margaret Page to Mrs. Lowther, 18 March [1818], Page Saunders Papers, Folder 3, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

³A Provisional List, p. 35.

⁴Margaret Page to Mrs. Lowther, 18 March [1818], Page Saunders Papers, Folder 3, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

and which is thought to contain a very candid Statement of the Case!!"¹
 At the end of her letter, which was begun on the 18th of March, she added the following statement which gives additional insight into the quandry experienced by students, parents, and the Faculty in this situation:

20th I saw. S. Sawyer last Night, who accidentally met D^r Hare here—He tells me he has not yet heard from his Parents—Should they wish him to remain here, the matter can be easily accommodated, by his Apologizing, and retracting the Words Injustice, and Imposition, which, as he was no way concerned in writing the Piece—I think he might be prevailed on to do, should it be his Parents wish—²

How many students subscribed to the apology and how many other students were suspended remain unanswered questions. This sequence of events, however, indicates a strong leadership posture on the part of the Society. It also indicates a strong leadership potential among the students enrolled at the College at this time; and the presence of both of these elements is good and speaks well for the College.

At about this same time the Society had become involved with another aspect of student life, an aspect more frequently encountered in the past: youthful pranks, intoxication, destruction of property, and personal disagreements between students. Meeting on 25 February, with all members present, several students involved in irregularities in the town were heard. Two students, Eggleston and Claiborne, had fired a cannon in the street between 9 and 10 on the 22nd; another, Stratton, had assisted in pulling down a sign; another, Allison, had become intoxicated and had broken Judge Semple's gate and windows; and two others, Mosby and Harrison, had had a "violent contest," all of which had taken

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

place during the interim between examinations for the first course and the commencement of the second course. The Society resolved that Eggleston and Claiborne be reproved privately by the President; that the President reprove Stratton in the presence of his class; that Allison's sentence be postponed until Friday, the 27th, because he had not shown much contrition; and that the Society would take no further notice of Mosby and Harrison's quarrel provided the President had determined by the 27th that a sincere reconciliation had taken place between the two young men.¹ Meeting on the 27th, with all members present, the Society accepted the President's statement that Mosby and Harrison were not cordially reconciled but had promised to abstain from any acts of hostility toward each other; and they proceeded to suspend Allison "from the Institution during the present session."² At this point young Allison apparently became contrite and wrote a letter to the Society: "It is not for myself that I thus become an humble petitioner, but for afflicted Parents, who indulged fond hopes and expectations when they sent me to profit by your Instruction."³ He further noted that he did not expect to be punished for an act of indiscretion during the interim between College sessions, a time in his opinion for gaiety and mirth, but promised to abstain from the use of spirits and wine while a student at the College if they would reinstate him.⁴ The Society, meeting on the 28th, "after serious deliberation resolved that it was inexpedient

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 25 February 1818, 1:12-16.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 27 February 1818, 1:16.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 28 February 1818, 1:17.

⁴Ibid., pp. 17-18.

to revoke the sentence of Suspension which had been pronounced."¹ The cumulative effect of the misbehaviour of a few combined with a remonstrance supported by many was probably responsible for the Society's denying the request of the citizens of Williamsburg that the "students be permitted to attend a ball proposed to be given on the 17th. Meeting on 14 March, with all members present, the Society simply responded "that it is not, under present circumstances, expedient for the Society to grant their request."² It would appear that the Society was indeed providing a wise, active leadership for the College and were acting in concert in arriving at and administering corporate decisions.

The Society assumed a similar leadership posture in evaluating the students at the end of each session and in communicating these evaluations to parents and guardians. Meeting on the 24 March 1818, with Smith, Nelson, and Campbell present, the Society resolved that the usual Circular be transmitted to the parents and guardians with the evaluation report inserted for each student. The report followed the format of that determined by the Society on 16 July 1817, with group one having eighteen students, group two having fourteen students, and with special communications being written for fifty-one students, two of whom were also included in group one and one included in group two; no mention was made of groups three and four.³ At a meeting on 20 June, with all members present, the Society determined that the "degree of AB be conferred on Archibald Taylor on the 4th of July, and degree of Bachelor of Law be

¹Ibid., p. 18.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 14 March 1818, 1:25.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 24 March 1818, 1:7-12.

conferred on Junius K. Horsburg & John Mason, Jr."¹ These were the first degrees to be awarded since the College changed to a three year program. The evaluations of the students for the second session were determined at a meeting of the Society on 5 July 1818, with only Smith and Campbell present; and in arriving at these evaluations, no groupings of the students were made. Instead the Society wrote individual comments regarding the progress, diligence, and moral conduct of thirty-seven students and forwarded them to the parents and guardians.² The Society was making a strong, concerted effort to provide leadership for the College and exhibited an attitude of sincere concern for the progress and welfare of the students.

The only other meeting of the Society in 1818, entered into the "Book of Proceedings," was held on 16 May 1818, and was attended by all of the members. The only resolution recorded instructed the Bursar to purchase for the College from one to three shares in the Dismal Swamp Company if the shares could be obtained on reasonable terms.³ Whether or not the Society assumed responsibility for the Bursar's complying with the instructions of the Board of Governors and Visitors as instructed at the preceding annual meeting is not known. The only surviving evidence of the meeting of the Board on 4 July 1818, relating to financial affairs of the College, concerned the appointment of a committee to solicit funds for the College and certain financial matters

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 20 June 1818, 1:25. Junius K. Horsburg is not included in the list given in the Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 5 July 1818, 1:27-30.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 16 May 1818, 1:26.

relating to the Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. Regarding the solicitation of funds, the Board resolved that "a committee of five be appointed to make Petition to the Legislature for such aid to the funds of this College as may extend its usefulness in by adding other professorships to the institution."¹ The specific professorships are not identified among the available evidence; but it would appear that the College continued to experience growth and prosperity; and it is evident that the Board, cognizant of the Legislature's interest in establishing an university for the commonwealth, is attempting to increase the course offerings at the College in anticipation of and as an aid to William and Mary becoming the university for the state's system of public education. The Board is exhibiting a wise and progressive leadership posture and is taking, it would appear, appropriate initiatives to ensure the continued growth and prosperity of the College.

With regard to the Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, the Board passed two resolutions relating to financial concerns. One of these stipulated that the Bursar pay Professor Hare "\$700 for the Chemical apparatus he brought us with him and to reimburse him for the employment of an assistant who has been engaged in the repairs of the apparatus."² The other resolution stipulated that "purchases to be made by or under the instruction of the professor of chemistry and an account thereof to be from him as required rendered by him to the faculty."³ A

¹Manuscript, 4 July 1818, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Manuscript, [4 July 1818], William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Manuscript, [4 July 1818], William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

third resolution, also relating to Professor Hare and indicative of a wise leadership posture on the part of the Board, concerned the appointment of a lecturer in Chemistry and Natural Philosophy: "Resolved in the event of Dr. Hare's resignation that the society be authorized to appoint a Lecturer to the classes of natural Philosophy & Chemistry for the coming year and that the same salary & fees from Students be paid him as if he were appointed professor."¹ Fortunately, the Board had the foresight to give the Society authority to provide for instruction in these disciplines in the event such authority were needed. The Society had been fortunate enough in the past to have Faculty qualified in a multiplicity of disciplines and willing to accept responsibilities for vacant professorships at such times. This, apparently, had not been the case in the fall of 1817.

At least one and perhaps two of the resolutions passed by the Board at its annual meeting 4 July 1818, grew out of the remonstrance of the students regarding payment of fees to Professor Hare. In the first instance the Board "ordained that the Professors in the several schools shall be entitled to and receive from each student who shall enter their classes before the 29th day of February the sum of Twenty Dollars & from each student who shall enter after that time the sum of \$10—& no more."² A second resolution stipulated that if a student were suspended or expelled during a course, the Professor should not return any portion

¹Manuscript, 4 July 1818, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Manuscript, 4 July 1818, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

of the Fees received.¹ Consideration of each of these resolutions apparently grew out of the President's Report to the Board, different segments of which had been assigned to different committees on the Board: "The Committee to whom was referred so much of the President's Report as related to...."² This report is not among the surviving evidence; but one other resolution which grew out of this report and which was passed by the Board indicates that the right of the Society to examine into the conduct of a Professor was again brought to the Board's attention; and upon further consideration of this matter, the Board reversed its previous position, resolving "that so much [of] the said Resolution as declares the Society have no right to examine into the conduct of any professor in this College shall be and the same is hereby repealed."³ Here again perhaps emerges President Smith's philosophy regarding the need for supervision in order to ensure continued growth and enthusiasm, which views, it would appear, also coincided with those held by the Board.

At some point during this year the Board elected one new member, Hugh Nelson of Albemarle County,⁴ an alumnus of the College;⁵ and with his election to membership, the number of the Board's constituency living outside the forty mile radius increased to four, two from Richmond and two from Albemarle. It could be assumed that the Board con-

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴A Provisional List, p. 54.

⁵Ibid., p. 30.

tinued its observation and evaluation of the Faculty and of the courses of instruction during this year; and it is probable that the Society complied with the mandate that they were responsible for seeing that the Bursar submitted a financial report which conformed to the Board's instructions as outlined at their annual meetings in 1816 and in 1817. The Board continued to provide a strong leadership for the College, and there is less evidence of the existence of a power struggle among those charged with leadership responsibilities.

The external forces which appeared to be working to the detriment of the growth and prosperity of the College continued. Jefferson was busy throughout the year corresponding with Cabell, Cooper, and others regarding plans for Central College and for the University of Virginia;¹ and he was proceeding with the construction of Central College.² A commission, established by the Legislature, whose membership, appointed by the Governor, consisted of one person from each senatorial district in the state, met 1 August 1818, at Rockfish Gap in Augusta County (the home county of Bishop Madison) for the purpose of selecting a site for an University of Virginia and for making other decisions regarding the establishment of the University.³ One historian states that the calculations of Jefferson, who was elected president of this

¹Calendar of Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, Part I, passim.

²Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 19 December 1817, Calendar of Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, Part I, p. 59.

³"Extract from the Report of the Commission for the University of Virginia, assembled at Rockfish Gap, in the County of Augusta, August 1, 1818." In Joseph C. Cabell, Letter and Accompanying Documents Relative to Literary Institutions of the State: Addressed to His Constituents (Richmond: John Warrock, 1825), pp. 27-28. Rare Books, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

Commission, determining Charlottesville to be the geographical centre of the commonwealth influenced this body to recommend Central College in Albemarle County to be the site for the establishment of an University of Virginia, noting that Central College received sixteen votes, Lexington three, and Staunton two. The College of William and Mary was not one of the proposed sites voted on by this body.¹ Jefferson forwarded a letter containing the report of the Commission for locating an University of Virginia to the Speaker of the Senate on 20 November 1818;² and Jefferson's calculations establishing the geographical centrality of Charlottesville were published in the Enquirer on 17 December 1818.³

During this same year a letter addressed to Jefferson from Thomas Cooper, dated 20 February 1818, reflected negatively on the President of the College of William and Mary. As noted earlier, Jefferson had consulted Cooper in 1814 concerning curricular plans for an university as well as the possibility of Cooper accepting a professorship should the university become a reality.⁴ In October 1817, the visitors of Central College elected Cooper to the first professorship of the College, the chairs of chemistry and law; and Cooper accepted the appointment 18 December 1817.⁵ Undoubtedly it is the "kind and liberal conduct" of the visitors of Central College to which Cooper referred in

¹Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, p. 87.

²Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 20 November 1818, Calendar of Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, Part I, p. 59.

³Richmond Enquirer, 17 December 1818.

⁴See note 1, p. 307.

⁵Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, p. 106.

his letter of 20 February 1818: "I feel myself greatly obliged and much gratified by the kind and liberal conduct of the Governors of your Institution in my case."¹ Concerning President Smith, he proceeded to write:

The Medical faculty to their great disgrace, have recommended Dr. Augustine Smith of Williamsburg, who is some kind of relation to Physick and Dorsey, and whom they expect to manage at will. Smith, may be a tolerable dissector, but he is no more. He cannot write a page either of grammar or orthography, without much consultation with a dictionary. He is perfectly ignorant of the classical languages, his temper is very bad, and I have no reason to speak in favour of his conduct, which so far as I have been interested in looking at it, has been marked by duplicity. He will not succeed here [College of Philadelphia].²

The nature and extent of Cooper's acquaintance with President Smith is not clear but could have had its origins during Smith's tenure as a professor at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York; and President Smith may or may not have sought and received the opportunity for the appointment to which Cooper referred. He did continue in the positions of President and Professor at William and Mary. If Cooper's characterization of him were a valid one and if such views of him were shared by others, President Smith's effectiveness as a leader for the College would have been attenuated. Also, if many of the College's sons wrote disparagingly of her, as did Jefferson on 10 April 1818, in writing to another of her sons, Francis Gilmer,³ the role and position of William and Mary in the education milieu of the commonwealth was an attenuated one: "I trust you did not for a moment seriously think of

¹Thomas Cooper to Thomas Jefferson, 20 February 1818, J. Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³A Provisional List, p. 19; Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

shutting yourself behind the door of William and Mary College. A more complete cul de sac could not be proposed to you."¹ For some reason or reasons the enrollment at the College in the fall of 1818 declined. Whether attributable to disparaging comments by her sons, for such a lack of loyalty among those to whom she had given the most could have been a more than adequate cause; to her President; to the evaluation reports of the Society to parents and guardians; to suspensions because of a failure to apologize to Professor Hare; to a combination of these; or to some other cause, only fifty students were enrolled in the fall of 1818,² an enrollment decline of forty-two students.

As noted earlier, no minutes of the Society for 1818 were recorded in the "Book of Proceedings" following the entry of 5 July 1818; and at this meeting only two members of the Society, President Smith and Professor Campbell, were present. It is both possible and probable that Professor Hare did resign his professorship in 1818 and that the Society did appoint a lecturer in his stead for the fall session of 1818; for the next recorded minutes of the Society, dated 20 January 1819, indicate that only President Smith and Professor Campbell were present.³ It is also probable that a lecturer for law was appointed by the Society for the fall session of 1818; for Robert Nelson, Professor of Law, who was also absent at the meeting held 5 July 1818, died at Malvern Hill on 4 August 1818.⁴

¹Th[omas] Jefferson to Francis W. Gilmer, 10 April 1818. In Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, note 1, p. 110.

²Goodwin, Historical Notes.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 20 January 1819, 1:30.

⁴James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898), 4:492.

An examination of the minutes of the Society for the year 1819 reveals that not only the first meeting recorded for this year in the "Book of Proceedings," that of 20 January 1819, was attended by only two members of the Society, President Smith and Professor Campbell, but that all subsequent meetings through that of 6 July 1819, were attended by these two members only.¹ Since a lecturer could not take a seat as a member of the Society, not having qualified, it is probable that he would not have been present at these proceedings. Professor Hare had qualified and had taken a seat on 25 February 1818; it can be assumed with certainty, therefore, that he was not at the College in 1819 and, as stated, was probably not at the College during the fall session of 1818.² It is further probable that the College had a lecturer for classes in law for the spring session of 1819 as well as for the fall session of 1818. The surviving manuscripts relative to the annual meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors do not include references to these two professorships;³ but the minutes of the meeting of the Society held on the 7 July 1819, two days after the last meeting of the Board, 5 July 1819, note that members present were President Smith and Profes-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 20 January 1818 through 6 July 1819, 1:30-36.

²In two articles in the Alumni Gazette, "Chemistry at William and Mary" by Robert Gilchrist Robb (May 1939, pp. 12-15) and "Biology at William and Mary" by Donald W. Davis (March 1940, pp. 6-7, 27-32), both authors state that Robert Hare was a professor at the College for one year, Robb noting that he "spent but one year at William and Mary and was succeeded by the first of a great family of teachers, Dr. P. K. Rogers..." (p. 14) and Davis noting that "he taught here only during the year 1818-1819..." (p. 28).

³Three Manuscripts, 5 July 1819, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

sor Campbell and then proceed with this first entry for the meeting:

The Visitors at their last meeting having appointed Judge Semple Professor of Law and Police and Dr. Rogers Profs of chemistry and Nat. Philosophy; the same having qualified took their Seats as members.

Present Judge Semple Prof^x of Law and Police
Dr. Rogers Prof. of Chem & N. Phil.¹

James Semple, who was elected to membership on the Board in 1803,² was a resident of Williamsburg³ and could have been the lecturer for the law classes in the fall of 1818 and the spring of 1819. Patrick Kerr Rogers had come to the College from the University of Pennsylvania; one could conjecture that he had served the College as lecturer prior to taking his seat as a member of the Society; for the Board, in authorizing the Society to appoint a lecturer in the event of Hare's resignation, authorized the appointment "for the coming year and ...the same salary & fees from Students be paid him as if he were appointed professor."⁴

An additional professorship was established at the College in 1819, a Professorship of Humanity and Universal History. The report of the committee appointed 4 July 1818, to petition the Legislature for funds to aid the College in establishing additional professorships, thereby extending the College's usefulness, also served as an index to the financial condition of the College; it was noted to be a prosperous one:

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1819, 1:37; A Provisional List, p. 50.

²A Provisional List, p. 55.

³"Colonel Tarleton, Parson Semple, and Judge Semple," WMQ 26, 1st ser. (January 1918):174.

⁴Manuscript, 4 July 1818, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

That in the present prosperous condition of the funds of the college, the extension of the scheme of Education by instituting new professorships seems to your committee correct and proper. Altho some differences of opinion might prevail as to the Branches of Science which might be added to the Catalogue of Literary instruction, already included in this Institution—yet on the whole it seems most admirable to your com—to select the Branches of History and Languages whereupon to found a new professorship to be styled a professorship of Humanity and Universal History....¹

It is important to note that in adopting a statute instituting this new professorship the College was referred to as the University of William and Mary; this nomenclature has not been noted for a number of years:

A Statute instituting a professorship of Humanity and Universal History in the University of W^m & Mary

Be it ordained by the Visitors & governors of the College of W^m & Mary in convocation assembled that a professorship of Humanity and Universal History, be and the same is hereby instituted in the University [*italics the author's*]. That during the recess of the session [?], the Society may proceed to make a temporary appointment, to be acted upon at the next meeting,—That a salary of 1000 \$ shall be annexed to [?] said professorships and that for each class either of Humanity or History there shall be a fee of \$20—paid by each student attending the same—²

At a meeting of the Society on 1 November 1819, the President stated that he had made "every inquiry" during the summer for a suitable person for the Chair of History and Humanity and was induced to believe that "the Rev.^d Mr. Keith of George-Town was the most eligible character that could be obtained."³ The Society resolved that he be appointed and that the President so inform him by letter.⁴

The financial affairs of the College seemed to be a major concern of both the Society and the Board throughout 1819, particularly a

¹Manuscript, 5 July 1819, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 1 November 1819, 1:38-39.

⁴Ibid.; A Provisional List, p. 49.

satisfactory accounting of the funds and of the real property of the College. A resolution adopted by the Board at its annual meeting 5 July 1819, indicates that the Bursar had not yet rendered a satisfactory accounting as instructed 6 July 1816 and 12 July 1817, and that this was still the status of this matter in 1819 in spite of the fact that the Board had assigned responsibility for such an accounting to the Society in a resolution passed 15 July 1817. Therefore, the assumption that the Bursar and the Society had complied with the Board's instructions, lacking evidence to the contrary in 1818, was an invalid one. A resolution adopted by the Board of Governors and Visitors 5 July 1819, noting that the "Interest of this College requiring that the visitors and governors thereof, should at all times, be well informed of the state of its funds" confirms the apparent quandry of both of these bodies charged with leadership responsibilities for the College:

Resolved that the President be requested forthwith to cause to be laid before the Convocation a Statement of the annual income of the college from the time the present Bursar came into Office. distinguishing the time when and the persons and the sources from whom and whence received and to what purposes applied, showing also the quantity of Land now belonging to the College with the Leases now standing out, and the annual Rents arising from the same—stating the uncollected Rents, Bonded debts and debts not bonded and from whom due, and how they have arisen and that the president be further requested to take the most efficient means to have the debts remaining due on open contract recovered or securely bonded. It is further requested that a view of all the bonds sold be included.¹

The Society, at a meeting held two days later, passed a resolution which stipulated that a strong box for the preservation of the bonds and other valuable papers for the College be purchased;² and,

¹Manuscript, 5 July 1819, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1819, 1:37.

following a statement by the President that "the Bond said to be given by the Bursar of the College for the faithful discharge of his duty had never come into his possession,"¹ the Society resolved that the Bursar be requested to renew the bond and that a further security of \$21000 be required of him since "the funds of the College have greatly augmented since the Time when the former Bond was given...."² At a meeting on the 1 November 1819, the Society reconsidered the required bond, at the request of the Bursar, and determined that an additional bond of \$6000 with good security should be required rather than one for \$21000.³ Such a bond and security apparently did not materialize; for on 30 November, with all members present, the Society resolved that "the President of the College be appointed Bursar ad interim, he having agreed, at the Request of the Society, to act in that Capacity until a permanent appointment can be made."⁴ President Smith served in this capacity until a meeting of the Society 29 December at which time he "presented his accounts as Bursar pro tempore which were examined and passed upon which the Doctor resigned his said office....a Bal. of \$31.47 remained due to the Doctor."⁵ The Society then appointed Edmund Christian as Bursar, requiring of him the usual bond with approved security. The Society further resolved that the Bursar be allowed in the future:

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 1 November 1819, 1:39.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 30 November 1819, 1:39.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 29 December 1819, 1:40.

...5 pCent commission upon all the Expenses of the College,—2½ pc. upon all sales of Land,—and 1 pcent upon all other charges of Capital—that all his reasonable Expenses be borne when engaged on the Business of the College—and that such extra Remunerations be allowed him by the Society on Special Occasions as may appear just.¹

Recorded in the minutes of the Society are two other financial considerations acted upon by this body. The first of these, considered at a meeting on 12 May 1819, with only President Smith and Professor Campbell present, authorized the Bursar to dispose of the Bank Stock presently held in the name of the Masters and Professors of William and Mary.² The second, considered at a meeting on 21 October 1819, with President Smith and Professors Semple and Rogers present, concerned a comparison, apparently, between the expenses of students at Princeton, recently published, with those at William and Mary. This comparison was undoubtedly favorable to William and Mary; otherwise they would not have desired to have it publicized.³

Other actions of the Society concerned student discipline and student evaluation. On 20 January 1818, the Society, consisting of President Smith and Professor Campbell, authorized the President to take whatever steps were necessary for the detection of some offenders who had pulled down the College gates and broken one of them on the night of the 18th.⁴ The minutes of 24 February note that President Smith had lodged a complaint regarding the property damage with the magistrate of

¹Ibid., pp. 40-41.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 12 May 1819, 1:35.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 21 October 1819, 1:38.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 20 January 1819, 1:30.

James City County but had been unable to obtain any information.¹ Also recorded in the minutes of the 24th was a statement of events concerning a student, Philip G. Randolph, which culminated in his expulsion. Young Randolph had requested permission to leave the College, stating that he would go even if his request were not granted. The Society had denied his request and had advised him to see President Smith before leaving the town. A letter from his guardian giving him permission to leave was of no avail, the Society stating that a student could not leave on the eve of the Public Examination at the College; and furthermore young Randolph had not taken the math exam administered on the 19th, a violation of the laws of the College. Randolph did not take the exam on the 23rd, refused to appear before the Society, and, on the 24th was "forever expelled from the College."²

The other students completed the Public Examinations on the 23rd and were evaluated by the Society on the 24th. Fifteen students, in group one, were noted as being the best in their respective classes; additional comments were made on twenty-eight other students, and a special report concerning each student was sent to the parents and guardians.³ At a meeting on the 5th of June, President Smith and Professor Campbell determined that the degree Bachelor of Arts be conferred on Otway B. Barraud on 4 July;⁴ and on the 6 July 1819, these two members

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 24 February 1819, 1:30.

²Ibid., pp. 33-34.

³Ibid., pp. 30-32.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 5 June 1819, 1:35; A Provisional List, p. 153.

of the Society again met and determined individual evaluations for twenty-two students to be sent with the usual Circular to the parents and guardians.¹

The only other business of the Society recorded this year in the "Book of Proceedings" was the vote of the College determined by President Smith and Professor Campbell at a meeting 10 April 1819, to be given to Severn Parker for Congress and to Col. Bassett and Henley Taylor for the House of Delegates,² a critical matter for the College in light of the fact that on 25 January 1819, the Legislature had determined that Central College would become the University of Virginia. One historian states that the most determined opponents of the bill which created this union were members of the Legislature from the region of William and Mary.³ Although a major argument of the proponents of the bill uniting Central College and the University of Virginia was the huge sums of money carried away from Virginia each year for the purpose of educating her young men elsewhere,⁴ it is important to note that all of the members appointed to the first Board of Visitors for the University of Virginia except James Madison were alumni of the College of William and Mary: Thomas Jefferson, James Breckenridge, Joseph C. Cabell, John H. Cocke, Chapman Johnson, and Robert Taylor.⁵ It would appear that the College of William and Mary, the University of William and

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 6 July 1819, 1:35-36.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 10 April 1819, 1:34.

³Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, p. 96.

⁴Ibid., p. 98.

⁵A Provisional List, pp. 23, 9, 10, 13, 23, and 39 respectively.

Mary, had provided the young men entrusted to her care with a very good education indeed! The site for the University had been chosen and approved by the Legislature, and it was not the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg; but the University had yet to be built, and the vote of the Society for representatives to the House of Delegates was of vital importance to the continued prosperity of the College of William and Mary.

The enrollment for the College in the fall of 1819, forty-nine students, was still down though only one student fewer than the preceding year. The College, however, had experienced good leadership. The actions of the Board of Governors and Visitors and of the Society indicated a strong, dedicated, and wise leadership in all the areas which had required their consideration in 1819—finance and financial responsibility, faculty appointments, creation of a new chair, student discipline, student evaluation, awarding of degrees. The Society had a full complement of professors; and the creation of a new chair was evidence of attempts on the part of the Society and of the Board to cope with the fact that the Legislature had created an university to serve as the apex of a system of public education for Virginia, and this university was not the University of William and Mary. What did the future hold for the College? Did she have the leadership she needed to assure her continued growth and prosperity? It would appear that she did.

The first recorded business of the Society in 1820 was to record, on 8 January 1820, the bond given by the newly appointed Bursar, Edmund Christian, which was signed, sealed, and delivered in the pres-

ence of all members of the Society and bore the signature and seals of four gentlemen: Edmund Christian, James R. Christian, W. Douglass, and Jn.^O H. Christian. The bond, in the amount of ten thousand dollars, was dated 30 December 1819, and stipulated the condition of the obligation to be such:

...that if the said above-bound Edmund Christian...shall well and truly perform his duties as Bursar of the College and from time to Time when thereunto required render to the said President and Masters or Professors and their Successors a just and true account of all his acting and doings and transactions in his said office, and faithfully account for and pay over all Monies which may come into his Hands as Bursar of the College then this obligation to be void or else to remain in full force and Virtue.¹

Other recorded minutes of the Society concerned with the finances of the College indicate the exercise of leadership on the part of the Board of Governors and Visitors as well as the Society although no surviving manuscripts regarding the actions of the Board are available.

At a meeting on the 27th of April, noting that the "Convocation of Governors and Visitors of the College [probably at the regularly scheduled meeting in February], having called for statements of the Income and expenditures of the College for the Time that the late Wm. Coleman was appointed the Bursar of the College Shewing the Time when, the Sources from whence received, and the Income and expenditures of the College....,"² the Society determined that it was not feasible for the present Bursar to prepare such statements in time for the meeting of the Board on 4 July 1820, and resolved that the Bursar be instructed to employ some qualified person for a reasonable compensation to aid him and that he submit the required reports to the Society as soon as pos-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 8 January 1820, 1:41.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 27 April 1820, 1:51-52.

sible.¹ The Society then proceeded to pass several additional resolutions related the the administration of the College finances, four of which involved specific instructions to the Bursar:

...that the Bursar be instructed not to appropriate any portion of the productive capital Funds of the College to the current expenses ...but...give information to the Society...of Receipt of...such... Capital, that the manner of the Investment thereof may be directed.

...that the Bursar...keep a separate account of the Capital...which shall shew of what the Capital consists; all charges and investments ...and the Times [received]...; and also a separate Income and expenditure account...shew[ing] the Sources..., the Times when used, and the appropriation thereof, and...render these accounts semi-annually to the Society.

...that the Bursar render to the Society a quarterly cash account... that he be instructed to insist on the punctual payment of Int. [from]...Debtors....and report all Delinquents semi-annually....

...that he...not...coerce the payment of any debt due...which is well and sufficiently secured...so long as the Interest is punctually paid; nor on failure to pay the Interest, until instructed by the Society; unless...circumstances...[would] not admit...[such] delay....²

The Society, it would appear, was finally assuming responsibility for the financial records of the College and was taking the necessary steps to ensure proper accounting and reporting procedures on the part of the Bursar, a much needed and essential leadership posture for the Society.

Two other matters, both involving the expenditure of funds, received consideration on the 27th. The first of these was a matter so essential to the proper functioning and operation of the College that one would take its existence for granted and its consideration unnecessary—adequately heated lecture rooms and the means for ensuring same; yet the nature of the consideration of this matter by the Society indicates a somewhat prosperous state of affairs for the College and a

¹Ibid., p. 52.

²Ibid., pp. 52-53.

thoughtful awareness on the part of the Society of both the social and physical needs of the students:

Resolved that a Room be provided with a Fire for the accommodation of the Students between Lectures, that Stoves of sufficient power be procured for those Lecture-Rooms that are not adequately supplied and that every Summer, the President cause a sufficient quantity of good oak or Hickory to be stored in the Cellars of the College and secured by sufficient doors and locks.¹

The second matter concerned payment for books transferred to the College by President Smith, the Society resolving that the Bursar pay President Smith \$235 which sum represented two-thirds the appraised value of the books plus interest for their use by the College during the past four years,² an interesting maneuver on the part of the President.

Meeting on 5 July 1820, the Society "Resolved that the Bursar use his discretion in compromising or otherwise settling the suits heretofore instituted by the College for alledged breaches of Leases in King William County, and for arrearages of Rent—";³ and after examining and passing on the accounts of the Bursar, ordered that they be recorded in the minutes.⁴ This accounting showed a debit of \$7,052.24 and a "Contra" credit of \$7,052.24.⁵ On 7 December, they instructed the Bursar to pay one Mr. Mitchell, the assistant employed to aid in compiling an accounting of William Coleman's transaction, the sum of \$212; to transfer to Macon the debt to the College of Col. Ambler, in Richmond, provided Macon pay all arrears of interest and sufficiently secure the

¹Ibid., p. 54.

²Ibid.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 5 July 1820, 1:57.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., pp. 58-59.

debt; and to see that "the Bond given by Mr. Wortham to Mr. Street be paid by the College, upon condition that Mr. Street assign to the College the Bill of Sale given him by Ellett for the Negroes in Question."¹

The Society was very much concerned during 1820 with the administration of the financial affairs of the College; and although minutes of meetings of the Society held during most of the period of this study are not available, the apparent status of William Coleman's records (Bursar of the College, 1804-1819) and the difficulty the Board and the Society had in procuring an accounting from him of the College income, resources, and expenditures, in spite of repeated efforts for a period of five years, indicates a decided lack of involvement in and assumed responsibility for the financial affairs of the College in the past on the part of both the Board of Governors and Visitors and the Society; and the difficulties experienced by the College in administering the lotteries in the past can be more readily understood. Considering the date the Society authorized payment to Mitchell, 7 December 1820, for services rendered in aiding Edmund Christian in the preparation of statements of William Coleman's transactions from the time he assumed the office of Bursar for the College, one could safely surmise that the statements were not presented to the Board of Governors and Visitors at their annual meeting on 4 July 1820. In reality, the period between 27 April and 4 July was not very much time in which to complete such a task, particularly to the extent and in the detailed manner outlined in the minutes of the Society on 27 April 1820.²

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 December 1820, 1:61.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 27 April 1820, 1:51-52.

Another matter requiring the attention of the Society early in 1820 was the newly created professorship. Reuel Keith of George Town, who had been elected by the Society to the newly created chair of Humanity and Universal History on 1 November 1819,¹ did not accept the appointment until 14 February 1820.² Keith indicated in his acceptance that he was arranging to begin his duties at the College at the commencement of the next session and requested the Society to decide as soon as "practicable" on the books to be used in his courses, noting that he and Professor Campbell had chosen Horace, Kenaphon, Cicero, and Homer for the languages and Hume's History of England for the history course. A book he would like to add for the history course was Bigland's Letters on History, a work designed as an introduction to the study of history.³ He apparently arrived finally in early November 1820; for at a meeting of the Society on 7 November 1820, President Smith stated that "the Revd. Mr. Keith had arrived, and was ready to enter upon his duties as Lecturer: Whereupon it was resolved that the Society would on Monday next proceed to decide on the Course of Instruction to be adopted by Mr. Keith";⁴ and on the 13th of November, the Society did meet and decided that the books to be used in the "first part of Mr. Keith's Course shall be Virgil and Tallust in Latin, and the Collection entitled 'Greeca Minora' in Greek....that the Historical

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 1 November 1819, 1:38-39; A Provisional List, p. 49.

²[Reuel] Keith to J. A[ugustine] Smith, 14 February 1820. In "Proceedings of the Society," 23 February 1820, 1:46-47.

³Ibid.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 7 November 1820, 1:60.

Course commence as soon as a Class can be formed; in event of which, the first Text-Books shall be Hume's History of England and Ramsay's History of America."¹

What had transpired between February and November is not known, and why the Society had not bothered until the new professor's arrival to consider his earlier request regarding the texts to be used was probably the still somewhat prevalent practice in education regarding the selection and ordering of texts—procrastination. Perhaps the "next session" in Keith's letter of 14 February referred to the fall session, not the spring. If so, why had the course on history not been publicized, perhaps in their circular, and the class formed? It would appear his arrival was late, even for the fall session; for the calendar stipulated the opening of the College on the last Monday in October. One can only conjecture; but in his letter of acceptance "to unite with the Friends and Faculty of your College, in labouring to sustain and increase its reputation and usefulness,"² this rector of an Episcopal parish had already resigned his present charge and noted that he had seen some of the "most respectable members of our Church, both Laity and Clergy, who have promised their active exertions in favour of the College. The Revd. Mr. Meade especially enters warmly into the Subject. He will use all his Influence to turn the Current of Students from his part of the State, toward Wmsburg; and has promised together with Mr. Wilmer, to exert himself to have the next convention there."³ Was President

¹Ibid.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 23 February 1820, 1:46.

³Ibid., pp. 46-47.

Smith really perhaps trying to establish the Chair of Divinity suggested in his opening address in 1814?

The College could certainly accommodate the additional students Reuel Keith's friends promised to encourage to attend William and Mary; for the year 1820 had an enrollment of forty-four students, a decline of four from the enrollment of the preceding year but a decline of forty-eight from the preceding two years. The Society, as had become its custom, corporately evaluated the students this year. Meeting on 23rd February, the public examinations for the fall session having just ended, the Society completed evaluations for forty-two students and resolved to insert the individual opinions in the circular to be sent to each parent and guardian. On 4 July the Society resolved to confer the degree Bachelor of Arts on Benjamin F. Stewart and Thomas R. Dew;¹ and at a meeting the following day, they agreed on evaluations for other students for the spring session just ended. Seven students were placed in group one and were characterized as being "orderly, diligent, and attentive; and have made the most flattering Improvement"; seventeen students were given individual evaluations, two of whom, it was noted, had not been given examinations because of illness.²

It is evident that the Society continued to be diligent in evaluating the students; in encouraging diligence, attentiveness, and improvement; and in communicating their opinions to the parents and guardians. They were not always successful, however, in their attempts to encourage diligence and attentiveness in their young charges; and

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 4 July 1820, 1:56.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 5 July 1820, 1:56.

this was especially true during the spring session of 1820 for Professor Rogers whose attempts in March to reprove one student for whispering during his lecture ended in an altercation which, when considered by the Society, resulted in suspension of the student, a Mr. Dabney, for the remainder of the course. President Smith was very meticulous in recording the details of the controversy; for the young man in question, he noted in the minutes, was his nephew.¹ About two months later on 20 May 1820, President Smith called a meeting of the Society because of a complaint to him by three students that Professor Rogers had hurt their feelings by remarks he had made before the class. After hearing the sequence of events as related by the students and then by Professor Rogers, the Society ruled in favor of the Professor noting that "his sole view was to render the said students more attentive to their duties, in which they appeared to him to have been very remiss."²

Professor Rogers appears to have been at the center of student-related controversies or problems this year. On the 9th of June, the Society was convened at the request of Professor Rogers:

...who stated that having heard that a violent breach of the peace had been committed by some of the Students who had made an attack against the Life of Captain Travis one of the Citizens while he was quietly setting before his door with his family: he deemed it his duty to have the Matter investigated as early as possible.³

The young man, a Mr. Rives, who was principally involved in the incident and was unable to appear in his own defense, soon recovered and appeared before the Society on 12 June; the members of the Society, after hearing

¹"Proceedings of the Society," [—] March 1820, 1:48-51.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 20 May 1820, 1:54.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 9 June 1820, 1:56.

his statement, "being divided as to the Course which should be pursued [determined] nothing further could be done."¹ Was such acquiescence, which could attenuate the leadership posture of the Society if continued, due to the approaching end of the session, to an attitude of benign neglect, or perhaps to a dissonance emerging among the members of the Society?

The possible presence of such dissonance among the members of the Society was noted in the sequence of events involving payment of matriculation fees, a fee which had apparently evolved out of the Board's deliberations 15 July 1817,² and which apparently had been in force for several years according to President Smith's letter to the Rector, Burwell Bassett, on 11 December 1820:

It is doubtless in your recollection that several years ago the Society passed a resolution requiring every Student when he matriculated to pay a fee to the College. Some of the Visitors thinking this act of the Society wrong brought the affair before the convocation who refused to interfere. Since that period to the present year no young man^x, with the exception of one who speedily yielded, refused to pay the fee in question & it was the well known & established rule in the College that every Student when he matriculated did so on the implied condition of paying the fee & that its not being insisted on at the time was altogether a matter of courtesy.

^xSome time during the last Course application was made to the Society by the Prof^r of Chemistry to permit his sons to attend free of expense; upon my remarking this would be against the settled rule of the College the application was withdrawn.³

At a meeting of the Society preparatory to the opening of the College in the fall of 1820, the matriculation fee of ten dollars for law students,

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 12 June 1820, 1:56.

²See Note 1, p. 318.

³J. Augustine Smith to Burwell Bassett, Rector, 11 December 1820, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, College of William and Mary.

apparently the customary fee, was reduced to five, the fee customarily required of all other students.¹ Apparently one of the students, Orris Browne, did not pay the fee nor had he called at the President's house, the requisite procedure for payment of the fee; however, he had entered his name on the matriculation book. When pressed for payment, young Browne indicated he did not intend to pay the fee but had expected to do so at the time he signed the book. "Upon this the Prst. informed him he must 'withdraw' from the College, and struck his name off the Book:.... Whereupon a Notice was made by one of the Professors [Professor Rogers, perhaps?], that the Matriculation fee be no longer demanded; for which no person voting it was negative[d] of course."²

Subsequently President Smith proceeded to write the Rector: "I deem it my duty to lay before you some circumstances which have recently occurred in the College that you may take such steps as may appear to you proper."³ He proceeded to outline the details recorded in the minutes on 7 December, noting the additional facts that young Browne had continued to attend two Professors only, at which point he brought the matter before the Society; and notwithstanding the negatived motion in the Society to rescind the resolution requiring a matriculation fee, the two Professors previously "alluded to, those of Mathematicks & Chemistry, still permit and avow their intention of continuing to permit Mr. Browne to attend their Lectures."⁴ Consequently, the only avenue

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 December 1820, 1:62.

²Ibid., pp. 62-63.

³Smith to Bassett, 11 December 1820, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers, College of William and Mary.

⁴Ibid.

left open to him was to submit the matter to the Board; and this he was proceeding to do, noting further that this irregularity was not the only one existing at the College at the present time. He then proceeded to relate facts attendant upon his attempts the preceding Monday to comply with the regulation of the Visitors to observe and evaluate the performance of the Professors. He was "about to go into the room for the purpose of hearing the Lecture on Natural Philosophy, when the Prof^r..., having some intimation of my design, desired to speak with me, & informed me that he objected to my going into the room for the purpose of judging of his performance...."¹ Professor Rogers, the Professor in question, apparently indicated he would examine his class before President Smith if he wished, but President Smith declined, stating that he chose not to be there at all if he could not fulfill the intentions of the Board. He concluded his letter with the statement: "As I neither have nor pretend to have any authority over a Professor & as a contest is altogether out of the question the whole subject is laid before the Convocation for their final adjustment....P.S. For the last statement I refer you to the enclosed letter."² The contents of the enclosed letter are not available; but an attitude of discord is certainly the prevailing mood of the letter that is available. An early indication of dissonance during this year could be noted in the resolution concerned with the altercation between Professor Rogers and young Dabney, the President's nephew; the initial resolution before the Society, punishment by expulsion, was given a favorable vote by one professor only who, un-

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

doubtedly was the member who proposed the resolution and who favored its passage; this person was probably Professor Rogers. President Smith, before signing the proceedings, took time to note that he had noted that the next severest punishment under the laws of the College was suspension for the remainder of the course but that he had not made the motion for suspension.¹ This had occurred in March; an attitude of discord seems to have been the prevailing mood among members of the Society throughout this year.

It would appear that all members of the Society were acting in good faith, but evidences of discord do exist. The Society appears to be somewhat involved in trivialities, enlarging upon them unnecessarily, an apparent characteristic of both President Smith and Professor Rogers and one which could adversely affect the effectiveness of the Society as a body in providing the best leadership for the College. The Society appears to be providing the College with leadership, with good and capable leadership, and so is the President of the College although an element of pettiness on his part appears to exist. The Board of Governors and Visitors, as seen through the minutes of the Society, were providing a responsible leadership; and its members were available to the Society when needed as seen in the letter of President Smith to the Rector. It is doubtful that Professor Keith took his seat as a member of the Society during 1820; if so, he did not attend the recorded meetings according to the members noted as being present. The only indication of political involvement on the part of the Society was an extract of a letter from President Smith to Cabell stating that the College was

¹"Proceedings of the Society," [—] March 1820, 1:50-51.

deprived of surveyors' fees in 1818, 1819;¹ and a resolution adopted by the Society that the "College Vote be given by Judge Semple at the ensuing Election for James City County, in favour of Col: B. Bassett and Kerby."² The President, the Society, and the Board of Governors and Visitors have provided outstanding financial leadership for the College it would appear; and the immediate future of the College may depend on this aspect of their leadership.

An examination of the minutes of the Society for the year 1821 leaves one with the impression that he has just completed a perusal of the minutes of the board of directors for a bank or other financial institution; for a major portion of the recorded resolutions of the Society during 1821 concerned the sale of land, collection of debts, collection of rents and interest, loans and security, suits, et cetera. In reality, the College was functioning as a bank, particularly with regard to lending funds on hand and receiving interest, beginning with the resolution on the 2nd February that "out of the Principal in the hands of the Bursar he pay the \$400 directed to be paid to Luke—and that the Balance of the Principal be lent on good Security and to punctual persons";³ and culminating perhaps with the resolution passed on

¹Extract from a letter from J. Augustine Smith to Joseph C. Cabell, n.d., as noted in manuscript of Robert John Morrison, p. 199. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 14, Chronological Papers and Robert John Morrison, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 23 February 1820, 1:47.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 2 February 1821, 1:64.

the 29th of May upon learning from the Bursar that he had some principal on hand and expected shortly to have one thousand dollars to be invested as the Society directed: "that he lend out immediately what he has on hand, and what he may shortly receive to the amt. of \$1000 to some responsible person on good and sufficient personal and real Security."¹

A summary perusal of the minutes for this year provides some insight into the nature and extent of the Society's financial deliberations. On the 2 February, the entire meeting was concerned with finances—a bill of sale for slaves, lottery ticket settlement, the purchase of land in King William, a compromise with Mitchell who had aided the Bursar, the sale of land on the Isle of Wight on credit, the settlement of debts and bonds, and the lending of four hundred dollars.² On 26 February, two of the resolutions concerned finances: the renting of the Hot-Water lands and the collection of a debt.³ On the 30th of March, the fire insurance on the buildings belonging to the College was changed from the Country funds in the Mutual Assurance Society to the Town funds; and the reevaluation made on 8 March was to be perfected (brought up to date?) by the Society.⁴ On 30 April, the entire meeting again concerned finances: responses to two bills of complaint in the Superior Court of Chancery in Richmond and the adequacy of the rental prospects for the Hot-Water lands.⁵ On 29 May, three rather complicated

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 29 May 1821, 1:75-76.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 2 February 1821, 1:63-64.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 26 February 1821, 1:69.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 30 March 1821, 1:71.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 30 April 1821, 1:72-73.

transactions, each involving the sale of 647 acres of College land in Sussex County by William Coleman and a part settlement with slaves, cows, horses, and oxen of Coleman's debt to the College were debated and acted upon. Other financial considerations at this meeting included the sale of the Isle of Wight land to Josiah Blunt at \$2 per acre; the sale of 158 acres of land in Sussex County at \$4 per acre; the sale of 182 acres of land in Sussex at \$3 per acre; the sale of 230 acres of land in Sussex for \$1000; the sale of 194 acres of land in Sussex for \$776; the lending of \$1000 of the principal on hand; and the initiation of a suit "to recover any Bal: due to the College from the Estate of the late Wm. Coleman dec. that Genl. Taylor be employed in prosecuting the same, and if Genl. Taylor will not engage in the Cause, that some other similar counsel be retained."¹ On the 13th of November, a loan of \$3000 to Goodall and McCandlish was approved provided sufficient security were given;² and on the 5th of December, it was determined that additional security would be required for the loan unless the Bursar determined that given to be adequate.³ The last meeting of the Society in 1821, held on the 19th of December, also involved financial considerations but of a different character; the Society approved the purchase of some imported books.⁴

The culminating financial consideration of the Society in 1821 was the receipt, on the 3rd of July, of several financial reports com-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 29 May 1821, 1:73-77.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 13 November 1821, 1:100.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 5 December 1821, 1:101.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 19 December 1821, 1:107.

pleted by the Bursar relative to the transactions of William Coleman during the period he was Bursar of the College (1804-1819), reports requested and subsequently demanded of Coleman for several years by both the Board of Governors and Visitors and the Society and then subsequently requested of his successor, Edmund Christian, on 27 April 1820. Compliance with this request must have been a rather prodigious task for the newly appointed Bursar; and even with the aid of a qualified person, the task had taken more than a year to complete. At the meeting held the 3rd of July, the Society, according to the recorded order of business, first authorized the Bursar to settle the account of the late Professor of Chemistry, Robert Hare, as stated by him; second, authorized payment for medical services administered to some of the Negroes belonging to one Ellett (with whom the College was involved in a suit) and a compromise of claims of the Cumberland sheriff in connection with the Negroes; and third, authorized payment of a fee of twenty dollars to one Stephenson for each suit brought by the College in the Superior Court of Hanover.¹ The Society then received the long-awaited reports of William Coleman's transactions: "The Bursar presented a Report and Sundry documents which were received: those of the Papers marked C, D, F and I. were ordered to be recorded—" ² The recording of these documents, which also included the transactions of Edmund Christian since his election as Bursar, comprised the succeeding thirteen pages in the recorded minutes of the Society.³

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 3 July 1821, 1:78.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., pp. 79-91.

The "Paper presented by the Bursar [sic] endorsed C"¹ concerned an accounting of the land in Sussex County, sold (948 acres by Coleman and 984 acres by Christian) and unsold (1582 acres), noting an accounting of 86 acres fewer than Coleman accounted for in a report made in 1815 which totaled 3600 acres. The "Paper presented by the Bursar endorsed D"² concerned an accounting of the land in King William County, sold (6620 acres by Coleman and 356 acres by Christian) and unsold (5125 acres), noting an accounting of 35 acres more land than that owned by the College before any sales were made (12066 acres). The "Paper presented by the Bursar endorsed F"³ concerned an estimate of the capital stock of the College, including an accounting of the security, the principal, the annual interest, the interest due and up to what time (most of which were up to 1 July 1821, and some of which were in suit or had a suit ordered), and the individual(s) involved as well as principal, interest and/or rent received on James River, Dismal Swamp, United States, and Virginia Stock and the Brafferton, the Library, and King William and Sussex County lands; and a note⁴ discussing possible errors, the calculations and interest essentially balancing each other. The total principal amounted to \$156,916.63; the total annual interest, to \$8,914.93; the total interest due as of 1 July 1821, to \$8,437.67.⁵ It is noted in this schedule that "W.^m Coleman['s] unbonded Debt believed to

¹Ibid., pp. 79-80.

²Ibid., pp. 81-84.

³Ibid., pp. 85-89.

⁴Ibid., p. 89.

⁵Ibid., p. 88.

be from the Evidence—7370.00. exclusive [inclusive?] of transactions in 1819 and In.^{tr} on Bonded Debts [——] 1819 amounting to \$1155.34."¹ The "Paper presented by the Bursar endorsed I"² concerned a comparison of the capital of the College in September 1804 (\$43,249.60) with that in July 1821 (\$53,360.76), an increase of capital in the amount of \$10,111.16, with an added note that the amount of accumulated interest currently due was \$7,353.43 and that a settlement of the Cash account currently indicated a balance of \$450.24 instead of \$500.00.³

This accounting of the financial affairs of the College—its resources, its income, and its expenditures—was long overdue. In light of the fact that the initial request of the Board of Governors and Visitors came at a time when the Legislature was actively involved in considering legislation relative to the selection of a site for an university for the commonwealth and that a part of the selection process included the purchase or acceptance of a sufficient quantity of land;⁴ that the three sites considered by the appointed Commissioners for the University of Virginia, meeting at Rockfish Gap on the 1 August 1818, were Lexington, Staunton, and Central College, with both Washington College at Lexington and Central College at Charlottesville having explicitly detailed what each would offer should the university be established in its locale (all of the College's funds, apparatus, books, grounds, a

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 90-91.

³Ibid., p. 91.

⁴"Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, December, 1816." In Sundry Documents on a System of Public Education, p. 29.

subscription of nearly \$18,000 by persons from Lexington and its environs, a deed to over 3,350 acres of real estate plus all personal property and fifty-seven slaves promised by one citizen to the directors of the literary fund—from Washington College versus subscriptions of \$41,248, proceeds of \$3,280 from parish glebes, grounds of 47 acres with buildings already begun and a pavilion and dormitories far advanced in construction, and another 153 acres near the grounds with a site favorable for an observatory—from Central College¹); and that the College of William and Mary was not even included in the deliberations of the Commissioners in spite of reported power and influence, the absence of—actually the College's apparent inability to produce—a detailed or even adequate accounting of the College's income, expenditures, land holdings, land sales, rentals, bonds, loans, et cetera was, in all probability, a very critical factor in the determination of the site to be recommended by the Commissioners so charged and the subsequent approval of the recommended site, Central College, by the Legislature. It would appear that proper financial leadership had not been provided for the College by the Board of Governors and Visitors nor by the Society for a number of years, particularly with regard to appropriate accounting procedures; otherwise the situation with which these bodies had been coping for the past few years would not have existed.

Following the receipt of the report and sundry documents from the Bursar on 3rd July and the subsequent order by the Society that those marked C, D, F, and I be recorded, the Society ordered that a deed to John R. Mason for lands sold to him by William Coleman be sealed,

¹Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, note 1, pp. 87-88.

signed, and delivered, with "the College Seal [to] be affixed by the Secretary," and directed the President "that on the Rising of the Convocation, he should deposit the Documents in the Iron chest belonging to the College."¹ One would assume that the Bursar presented to the Society documents marked A, B, E, G, and H. Whether he did or not, why they were not recorded, and whether or not they were among the documents to be deposited in the iron chest is a matter for conjecture. One could assume that they were the sundry documents referred to in the minutes; one could also assume that they were reports the Society preferred not to have recorded in their permanent record. Whatever their reason, in light of the judicious manner in which the Society had been conducting the financial affairs of the College during this year, one would be inclined to respect their corporate decision, to deem it to be wise, and to conclude that the Society had assumed an appropriate and much needed leadership role in this regard.

The other body charged with leadership responsibilities, the Board of Governors and Visitors, met on 6 July 1821, according to all available records. The proceedings of this body for which surviving manuscripts are available were recorded in part in the minutes of the meeting of the Society held on the 7th of July; three other resolutions adopted by the Board, which survived in manuscript, were not; two of these related to the statutes and could have arisen out of differences of opinion regarding the responsibilities and/or authority of each of the two bodies; the other related to an annual report from the President and could have arisen out of President Smith's frustration when attempt-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 3 July 1821, 1:92.

ing to fulfill supervisory duties although one would assume that the President would have preferred to have each of these resolutions, particularly the latter, recorded in the records of the Society. The first of these resolutions not recorded in the Society's minutes concerned, once again, the procedure to be followed by the Bursar "for the correct information of the Visitors at their Convocation, on the state of the Treasury and Income of the College—" ¹; the Board ordered the Society to direct their Bursar—language seemingly unnecessary in light of the excellent financial statements just completed by the Bursar but highly relevant in light of recent history—to keep the active and productive accounts separate from the doubtful and unproductive ones; to report the annual income distinguishing interest, sales of property, and debts collected; and to report the disposal of all funds accruing as capital. ²

The second resolution appointed a committee "to collect & revise all the Stat. rules regulations and ordinances of the convocation & prepare a digest of the same;...enquire into the particular powers and duties of the Gov & visitors & of the Prest-masters & proff of the College of W.^m & Mary and make a report to the next Convocation." ³ The Board further resolved that the Committee have the power to appoint a clerk to aid them in completing this task, to consult gentlemen of the bar with respect to "the respective powers & duties of the Gov & visit.

¹Manuscript, 6 July 1821, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, 1821-1850, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

³Manuscript, 6 July 1821, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

& Pr^s proff & masters under the charter of the College of W^m & Mary."¹
To this committee the Rector appointed "Messrs. W^m Browne, Robert Saunders, Jno. Tyler, Burwell Bassett & W^m Armistead any of these of whom may act—and they kept the same at the meeting of the next convocation."²
Why this resolution was not recorded in the minutes of the Society is a matter of conjecture. It is possible that President Smith was not present at the time this resolution was debated and passed; it is also possible that he simply did not want it recorded in the Society's records. Why the Board initiated such a resolution is also a matter of conjecture. Perhaps the financial activity and legal involvement of the Society during the past year together with the long-awaited submission of financial reports detailing the transactions during William Coleman's tenure as Bursar and the period of time this represented, plus the possible political implications of the existence of such conditions and the irresponsible leadership it appeared to represent all combined to create a climate of self-incrimination and a concomitant defensive posture on the part of the Board. The Society perhaps had been coping with this same climate throughout the year as it worked with the Bursar and made the numerous decisions to sustain, protect, defend, and increase the financial well-being of the College. The Board had not worked closely with the Bursar over a period of several months and had not been involved in making legal and financial decisions as the need for a decision became apparent. It was coping all at once and for the first time with the full force of the apparent financial irresponsi-

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

bility of the past several years and of the failure of both bodies charged with providing leadership for the College to exercise the requisite leadership, and it was compelled to act—and react—in a very short span of time. In such a climate, the emergence of a power struggle would appear to be imminent; on the other hand, the actions taken by the Board could have represented a desire for a clarification of modi operandi. However, the President's first recorded statement at the meeting of the Society the following day, 7 July, and his only reference to the financial reports which the Society had directed him to deposit in the iron chest belonging to the College "on the Rising of the Convocation"¹ was "that the Documents which he laid upon the Table of the Visitors were directed by that Body to be retained by their Clerk."² The Board and not the Society had the documents at their disposal; anticipation of such a decision was probably the reason for the Society having recorded some of the reports in their minutes on the 3rd of July.

The third surviving manuscript of the proceedings of the Board, also not recorded in the minutes of the Society, concerned a resolution requesting the President to report to the convocation in writing annually regarding the faculty, the students, and the College in general:

The Conduct of the several professors or Masters, the manner in which they have severally conducted themselves in their Schools, and how they have fulfilled their duties, respectively; the State of the several schools and the improvement of the Students, and also the State of the Buildings with any other matter thought pertinent by himself and which would in his opinion aid the Convocation in form-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 3 July 1821, 1:92.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1821, 1:94.

ing a correct judgment as to the measures proper to be adopted,¹ [sic] by them in advancement of the Interests of the Institution....

This resolution was probably given consideration as a result of President Smith's previously noted letter to the Rector, Burwell Bassett, on 11 December 1820. Why it was not recorded in the minutes is again a matter of conjecture; President Smith probably did not want it recorded.

The two surviving manuscripts of the Board's proceedings which were also recorded in the minutes of the Society were a statute concerned with the texts to be used and a resolution concerning a matriculation fee and its use. With regard to the statute concerned with the texts the manuscript of the Board's proceedings stipulated that the practice of the Professors of agreeing on the texts to be used in the several classes as well as the general mode in which the lectures were to be conducted was to be adhered to but that nothing in this statute was intended to preclude any Professor from referring to other authors or adding other relevant matter provided "he perform that duty orally or in writing."² In addition to and preceding these statements, the statute as recorded in the minutes of the Society stated that in the future the President and Professors shall agree on a schedule prior to the beginning of each session, including the days and times for each Professor's lectures thus avoiding conflicting hours for different lectures; and the statute further stated that in the future no Professor shall absent himself from a lecture or change his scheduled day and time

¹Manuscript, n.d., William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Manuscript, 6 July 1821, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary; "Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1821, 1:94-95.

for a lecture without the assent of the other Professors.¹

The resolution of the Board requiring a matriculation fee has survived in manuscript in two forms, the two forms indicating the nature of the deliberations concerning this resolution, one of which was not recorded and was indicative of the type of deliberation which could have precipitated the emergence of a power struggle and the Board's appointment of a committee to collect, revise, and investigate the statutes of the College. This form of the resolution noted that the library fee, subsequently changed to a matriculation fee, which was imposed on every student by the Society assumed a power to reside in the President and the Professors which in reality belonged to the visitation only.² The second form of the resolution in manuscript and the one recorded by the Society resolved "that in addition to the fees already by statute required to be paid by the students on entering the College, they pay an additional fee of five Dollars as a Matriculation Fee which fees shall be exclusively applied to the purchase of Books for the Library."³ The Society further agreed in its deliberations on 7 July that the matriculation fee be paid to the President at the time of matriculation and that they constitute a separate fund to be called the Library Fund.⁴

This resolution of the Board no doubt grew out of the controversy arising over the refusal of Orvis Browne to pay the matriculation fee for the fall session of 1820, with Professors Rogers and Campbell

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1821, 1:94.

²Manuscript, 6 July 1821, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.; "Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1821, 1:95.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1821, 1:96.

being on one side of the issue and President Smith and Professor Semple on the other¹ and President Smith's having subsequently brought the controversy to the attention of the Rector, thereby committing the matter to the Board for resolution. The controversy within the Society, however, had not let the matter rest at this point; in fact, the other Professors in all probability did not know about President Smith's letter to the Rector. At a meeting on 26 February 1821, the issue again commanded the attention of the Society when Professors Rogers and Campbell proposed a resolution that Orvis Browne "as a Student be entered on the Books in the Record of the Characters of the Students."² The resolution did not pass because President Smith and Professor Semple were of the opinion that he was not a student. Professor Rogers then presented a protest which was "admitted to record...: The Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy protests against the proceeding of the Society in omitting to determine the character of Mr. Orvis Browne in the Mathematical and Philosophical Classes; and in refusing to record his character in their Books."³ At this same meeting the Society resolved that students who matriculated after the February examination pay a fee of \$2.50 instead of five dollars.⁴ No mention of such a reduction in this fee was included in the resolution which was adopted by the Board a few months later; perhaps such a reduction was assumed since a similar reduction in fees paid to a Professor had been approved.

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 December 1820, 1:62-63.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 6 February 1821, 1:69.

³Ibid., pp. 69-70.

⁴Ibid., p. 69.

These were the only resolutions passed by the Board of Governors and Visitors for the year 1821 for which surviving evidence is available. The Board's reaction to having finally received the documents and reports relative to the financial transactions of William Coleman can perhaps be noted in the resolution giving further instructions to the Bursar regarding his modus operandi; in the resolution appointing a committee to collect, interpret, and revise the statutes of the College for the purpose of determining the power and authority of the two governing bodies, the Board and the Society; and in two resolutions passed by the Society at meetings held subsequent to the annual meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors. The first of these was the only recorded business of the Society on 9 July 1821:

Whereas many Debtors of the College have permitted the Interest which accrues on their Bonds to accumulate for more than 12 Months be it therefore Resolved that all Debtors to the College who shall at any time be so circumstanced shall after receiving sixty days notice from the Bursar be forthwith sued, and the said Bursar is hereby directed to bring such suits accordingly: unless application shall be made by the Debtor to the Society and that Body shall think proper to grant further Indulgence. Sundry deeds heretofore ordered were signed and the Society adjourned.¹

The second resolution, also the only recorded business of the Society, was considered and passed 30 July 1821:

It is ordered that the Bursar demand of the Executors of Wm. Coleman payment of the Bonds or obligations in which he was bound to the President and Masters or Professors of Wm & Mary College to secure payment of such obligations, certain Lands and slaves were conveyed by Deed of Mortgage now of Record in the County Court of James City.²

A third resolution considered and passed by the Society at a meeting held 7 July 1821, the day following the annual meeting of the Board,

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 9 July 1821, 1:96-97.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 30 July 1821, 1:97.

could have had its origin in the actions of the Board on the 6th and could be construed to be a defensive posture on the part of the Society: "Resolved that any resolution offered to this Board whether passed or not shall be recorded at the Request of the Mover or any other Member."¹ It would be interesting to know the deliberations which preceded this resolution; one is not privy to such information from the past nor from the present unless one is present. The decision of the Society, however, was both appropriate and wise and represented a posture they should always have had and a posture, it has been noted, that the Board did assume in their deliberations.

The Board of Governors and Visitors, it would appear, was providing a strong and concerned leadership for the College; and it was probably extremely cognizant of the political implications the irresponsible financial leadership the College had experienced for so many years had for the future of William and Mary. The resolution appointing a committee to collect and revise the statutes was in all likelihood an attempt on their part to determine specific powers and responsibilities of the two bodies charged with the leadership of the College in order to subsequently delegate appropriate responsibility and authority to each, thus eliminating the possible recurrence of a situation detrimental to the future and the prosperity of the College. Such a leadership posture was indicative of a wise leadership on the part of the Board; and at some point during its deliberations, this body had elected a new member to aid in the protection and promotion of the welfare of the College,

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1821, 1:96.

John Stark Ravenscroft of Brunswick County,¹ the fifth Board member residing outside the forty mile radius and the third Board member from the western counties; but he was an alumnus of the College² and, one would sincerely hope, a loyal alumnus.

The corporate decisions of the Board of Governors and Visitors for the year 1821 presumably were completed by the close of their meeting on 6 July. The minutes of the Society, however, indicate that other decisions were made by this body during 1821. Out of one of these decisions another controversy arose between Professor Rogers and the other members of the Society, a resolution passed 7 July 1821, requiring a student to have a knowledge of plane geometry, plane trigonometry, and simple equations in algebra before being permitted to enroll in the class in Natural Philosophy, with only those whose primary objective was languages being excepted from the requirement. The stated reason for this resolution was that a competent knowledge of mathematics was indispensable to a comprehension of the lectures on Natural Philosophy.³ It was also resolved that in the mathematics course the students be instructed in the use of instruments associated with the field as often as possible.⁴ At the meeting of the Society on 1 November 1821, shortly after the fall session began, Professor Rogers presented a protest to the resolution requiring specific competencies in mathematics before enrolling in his course. He outlined five specific points: first, no

¹A Provisional List, p. 54.

²Ibid., p. 34.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1821, 1:96.

⁴Ibid.

similar restriction existed in any other department; second, it was calculated to operate to the damage of the Natural Philosophy Professor; third, the practice was different from that existing and expected when he assumed the professorship and disappointed reasonable expectations which he had; fourth, it will be prejudicial to those students who can spend a limited time at the College and do not want to limit themselves to mathematics; and fifth, the resolution appeared to be contrary to the interests of the College. Following a recorded statement by President Smith that the rule was intended to bear and did bear upon other professors, except those of law and mathematics, the Society resolved to reserve to themselves the power to admit a student to Natural Philosophy without the requisite background in mathematics if particular circumstances justified a departure from the rule.¹

In accordance with the resolution of the Board that the Society establish a scheduled day and time for the lectures of each professor, the Society, meeting on the 29th October 1821, established the following order for lectures: On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday the Freshman Moral Class and the Law Class met at nine o'clock; the Junior Mathematical Class at ten o'clock, and the Natural Philosophy Class at twelve o'clock; on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday the Junior Moral Class met at nine o'clock, the Freshman Mathematical Class at ten o'clock, and the Chemical Class at twelve o'clock.² On the 7th of November, Reuel Keith, noted in the minutes as Professor-elect of History and Humanity, met with the Society; and his two courses were added to the schedule: Clas-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 1 November 1821, 1:98-99.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 29 October 1821, 1:98.

sics on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at nine o'clock and History on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday at one o'clock. The minutes also note that his not being present from the beginning of the session was due to illness.¹ His activities since accepting the appointment 14 February 1820, are not noted at any point. On 5 December 1821, the President reported that "The Revd. Mr. Keith had qualified according to Law as a Professor in this Institution";² and Professor Keith was recorded as being present at the meeting. In other actions, the Society went beyond the Board's resolution that it select texts to be used by agreeing that texts used by each professor be equally apportioned and given out each day; that each professor examine his students on the texts, privately and publicly; and that each professor examine his class, privately and publicly, on matters added to his lectures to the extent time would permit.³

Examinations were administered as usual in February and July, and following these the Society evaluated the students and forwarded their reports to the parents and guardians. In February seven students were placed in group one; eight, in group two; and special communications were written on twenty-three students.⁴ In July evaluations were written for seventeen students and forwarded to parents and guardians.⁵ Whether the actions of the President on the 3rd and 4th of July were a

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 November 1821, 1:100.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 5 December 1821, 1:101.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1821, 1:96.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 23 February and 28 February 1821, 1:65-68, 70.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 6 July 1821, 1:92-93.

departure from what normally took place during the examinations or whether this was the first time such actions had been recorded is not known, but at the meeting of the Society on 3 July 1821, the following resolution was agreed upon:

Resolved that the President at the close of the examination this day be instructed to announce to the students and those who attend, that in the opinion of the Society, the Classical and Mathl. Classes performed more satisfactorily than the Moral or Chemical, tho' the Members of the latter answered on the Questions proposed to them with promptitude—and that he announce his opinion of the performance of the class to be examined today, in general Terms.¹

The inclusion of the "Classical Class" in this resolution would indicate that classes in Greek and Latin had been conducted during the year and that perhaps Reuel Keith had been at the College; however, no mention is made of him in the records of the Society since 7 November 1820, until 7 November 1821. Perhaps he was there in the capacity of a lecturer and had classes in the languages only; however, no mention was made of him nor of his classes.

On the 30th March 1821, the Society expressed in its minutes the belief that a more liberal plan with regard to awarding degrees would be beneficial to the College and agreed to award the degree, Bachelor of Arts, at the end of two years (the procedure in 1814 when Smith became President) and the degree, Master of Arts, at the end of three years.² The Society further resolved that the regulations concerning degrees be changed to read "any Junior or Senior Student."³ On the 29th of May the Society resolved that Ralph Graves would be awarded "the Degree A.B....

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 3 July 1821, 1:77.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 30 March 1821, 1:71.

³Ibid.

when he shall present a Thesis which shall be approved by this Body."¹
 The Catalogue of the Alumni does not include his name but does include the names of Thomas E. Burfort, Richmond T. Lacey, and Frederick Marx as having earned the degree Bachelor of Arts in this year.²

Evidence of both an involvement and an unwillingness to become involved at this time in the political affairs of the commonwealth are noted in the minutes of the Society for this year. On 4 April the Society determined that the vote of the College be given to Bassett for Congress and to Kerby and Gregory for the House of Delegates;³ and on 17 December the Society resolved that the vote of the College be given by Professor Semple to William Browne as senator for the district.⁴ Also on this date a letter from the Faculty of Hampden Sydney College was read and discussed, and both the letter and the reply of the Society were recorded in the minutes. The attitude of each body toward the current educational milieu in Virginia at this time can be seen in these letters. The Faculty of Hampden Sydney was writing at the direction of the Corporation of their institution:

At the annual Meeting of the Corporation of this Institution in September, the Faculty were directed to correspond with those Institutions which the Legislature has chartered expressly for Collegiate Education. It was their opinion that situated as Wm. and Mary, Washington, and Hampden Sydney Colleges are with respect to each other, in distinct and distant sections of the state, pressed with common difficulties, resulting from public sentiment on Education, and from the want of adequate Funds; important advantages might be secured to the individual Colleges, and to the Literature of the

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 29 May 1821, 1:73.

²Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 4 April 1821, 1:71.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 17 December 1821, 1:101.

State, by our liberal, enlightened, and cordial co-operation. They also believe that when the first appropriations from the Literary Fund were made, had these Colleges laid before the Legislature, such a report as could merit the Confidence of the Community, and of the Friends of Literature; the Patronage of the Legislature would not have been withheld. It will be recollected however that this institution, had then reached the lowest point of depression, that the declaration was generally made and believed, "that Virginia had no institutions—that the Rubbish must be removed, and a new foundation laid—that the existing and independent Institutions must be abolished or placed under the Controul of the University."¹

The letter then projected the belief that any objection to one of the three institutions would be equally injurious to all; that they wished to be freed from the suspicion and prejudice which had long rested upon their institution; and that should a Bill for an appropriation at the Colleges be made, the academies and various schools would claim an equal share, with those persons wishing the whole share to go to the university resisting any preference to institutions which were most closely analogous to the university. The Faculty also expressed in its letter the belief that had a right understanding existed among the Colleges the last year, "in the place of practically taking \$60,000² from the permanent fund for one Institution, that sum would have been shared in a just proportion with the other three."³ Noting further that the independence and purity are endangered, the existence questioned, and the community rights violated when institutions chartered by the Legislature for the

¹Faculty of Hampden Sydney College to the Faculty of William and Mary College, 4 December 1821, "Proceedings of the Society," 17 December 1821, 1:101-104.

²The Legislature had granted a loan of \$60,000 to the University of Virginia on the basis of the annual appropriation of \$15,000, approved in 1818, being pledged for payment; it is to this the letter probably refers.

³Faculty of Hampden Sydney to Faculty of William and Mary, 4 December 1821, "Proceedings of the Society," 17 December 1821, 1:103.

public benefit are refused patronage by that body "on the ground of their not being under the legal controul of another Institution....we propose that the Faculty of each of the above-named Colleges (if their Visitors cannot meet) appoint three of their Friends, members of the Legislature or not, to meet at Richmond by the 25th of Decr....and... application in behalf of those Colleges be entrusted to this joint Committee."¹

The reply of the Society stressed the conviction that a good understanding among the Colleges of the State should exist at all times and was particularly necessary at the present time; they consequently were willing to unite in any plan which was likely to prove beneficial to those institutions. "But candour compels them [the faculty] to add, that they have little or no Hope of being able to procure at this Time any pecuniary aid from the Legislature."² The Society's letter stated that many reasons for their position on this matter may be given, concluding, however, that certain ones might suffice. First among the reasons given was the fact that no college had flourished among them as yet; the reason for this was that there was no "grand University with some ten or a dozen professors to teach every Science which is included in the flourishing Institutions of the Old World."³ They further concluded that there could not be two or more of such universities and until experience proved that "there cannot be one, or that one is pro-

¹Ibid., pp. 103-104.

²Faculty of William and Mary College to Faculty of Hampden Sydney College, 17 December 1821, "Proceedings of the Society," 17 December 1821, 1:104-105.

³Ibid., p. 105.

vided for, the older Colleges in the State have nothing to expect."¹ They also conceded that many among the Legislators were opposed to awarding large sums to the University but that their opposition was not because they wanted to award it to them, the Colleges; for they were equally hostile to them. Their objective rather was the "creation and Endowment of Primary schools....Upon any proposition therefore to give money to Hampden Sydney, Washington and Wm. and Mary, both parties wd unite, and the proposal would infallibly fail."² They concluded, therefore, that the meeting proposed by Hampden Sydney was unnecessary, believing that the "Friends of these respective Colleges will of themselves unite whenever there is a prospect of success: and the Time may come when our Countrymen may recollect what they owe to these institutions which they now so entirely disregard."³

A thoughtful examination of the concerns expressed by the Faculty of each institution and the proposed avenues for a mutually satisfactory resolution compels one not to ask which views are likely to facilitate achievement of desired objectives but rather which views are more likely to facilitate achievement of this reality. Did William and Mary have access to some "inside information," or was she blindly depending on the loyalty of her friends? Should the issues be forced, or could she rely on friends to do the forcing? Was the Society assuming a wise leadership posture, or was it currying favor with persons of power and authority and possibly succumbing to guises of friendship? One would

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 106.

³Ibid.

prefer to assume that the Society was imbued with a sense of strong, purposeful, wise, and unyielding leadership dedicated to the survival and prosperity of the College of William and Mary.

The College had experienced just such a leadership during the year 1821 on the part of both the Society and the Board of Governors and Visitors; and the fall session reflected this leadership, for sixty-one students were enrolled during this session.¹ This represented an increase of seventeen over the preceding year. Whether this increased enrollment with an accompanying sense of prosperity and general well-being on the part of the Society could have influenced the response of the Society to the Faculty of Hampden Sydney College or not would be a matter of conjecture; but it could have. The Society had had a busy, productive, and demanding year; and a surviving letter would indicate that Professor Campbell, in addition to his duties at the College, apparently had been able to find time to continue to operate his school in Williamsburg for the education of younger persons. Gabriel [G?]alt Williamson, writing to Mary D. Galt from Norfolk on 22 January 1821, stated that he had arrived in Norfolk; and his father could not decide whether he was going to school there "or to Mr. Campbell's in Williamsburg."²

¹Goodwin, Historical Notes.

²Gabriel [G?]alt Williamson to Mary D. Galt, 22 January 1821, Galt Papers, Vol. I, Box 2, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary. A Provisional List includes the name of Gabriel [G?] Williamson as attending the College 1821-23 (p. 44). It is doubtful that he would have referred to the College of William and Mary as "Mr. Campbells."

For the year 1822, the surviving evidence is to be found in the minutes of the Society primarily; and during this year the conduct of the financial affairs of the College continued to be a major responsibility of this body. An accounting of the transactions of William Coleman having been finally realized, however, less time had to be devoted to financial considerations. The College was experiencing a renewed prosperity; and the Society, cognizant of the College's assets and liabilities, seemed to be dedicated to continuing the status quo. The Society continued the practice of lending funds to persons whom they, and the Bursar, considered to be responsible and to have sufficient security. Meeting on the 17th of January, this body authorized the President to inform "Th. J. Randolph that when the money due from Col: Nicholas' Estate is received, it shall be loaned to him on the usual Terms and Securities."¹ In a resolution immediately preceding this authorization, the Society had given its consent to the sale of the Warren Estate, the security given by Nicholas, to creditors provided terms for payment of interest in arrears, of that which might accrue, and of the principal be satisfactory to the College Bursar. On 28 October 1822, the Society authorized the Bursar "to loan Messrs. Miles and Selden Macon the sum of \$1000 on the usual Terms"²; and on 9 December 1822, the Bursar was given a similar but less explicit authorization "to loan Judge William Daniel such sums of Money (being principal) as may come into his hands, until the Judge shall have received from five to ten thousand dollars: the Money of course to be secured in the usual

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 17 January 1822, 1:107-109.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 28 October 1822, 1:130.

way, & on the ordinary Terms."¹

Other financial considerations which received the attention of the Society included the sale, "for cash, of property conveyed by Dr. John Adams under a deed of Trust, to secure a Debt due by him to the College"² with a subsequent authorization to the Bursar "to pay one twelfth-part of the amount that may be produced by the sale of the Lands ...upon condition that the wife of the said Dr. Adams shall relinquish her right of Dower in said Land";³ the approval "of the securities [of] Jones R., and John H. Christian to the Bond of Edmund Christian to the Society for \$1090";⁴ the signing and sealing of deeds to Edwards, Slaughter, and Aliverz Th[—?];⁵ the settlement and return of the bond to Samuel Fauntleroy for "certain Lottery tickets";⁶ and the answer of the Society to a "Bill of Complaint exhibited against them by Tignor and Robert Pollard,...[which] was examined...approved...sign[ed by the President]...and...annex[ed] thereto the common Seal of the Corporation."⁷ One specific expenditure relating to the curriculum of the College was the authorization "that there be purchased for the use of the Law Class —3 copies of 5th & 6th Volls. of Munfords Reports—and 3 copies of Gil-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 9 December 1822, 1:131.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 17 January 1822, 1:109.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 27 February 1822, 1:113.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1822, 1:129.

⁶"Proceedings of the Society," 9 December 1822, 1:131.

⁷"Proceedings of the Society," 25 April 1822, 1:119.

man's Reports."¹ At this same meeting, the Society resolved "that the Vote of the College be given by the Professor of Law to Mr. Browne, for the Senate and Messrs. Gregory & Kirby for the House of Delegates."² Present at each of these meetings were Professors Smith, Semple, Rogers, Keith, and Campbell, except the meeting at which the security for Edmund Christian was approved; Professor Semple was absent at the adoption of this resolution.³

The administration of examinations, the evaluation of the students, the awarding of degrees, student discipline, and compliance with the Board's resolution regarding scheduling of lectures were other considerations requiring the attention of the Society in the exercise of their leadership role during this year. Evidence of the continued existence of an attitude of controversy between Professor Rogers and other members of the Society is noted in the meeting of the Society on 25 February 1822, held for the purpose of evaluating the students following the administration of examinations at the end of the fall session. After resolving that the usual circular, with individual special reports for each student inserted, be sent to the parents and guardians, the Society proceeded to evaluate thirty-eight students. The thirty-ninth student to be commented upon, Elias Bartle, received "an opinion not so favourable" in relation to his acquirements from Professor Semple and President Smith as that which he received from Professors Rogers and Campbell; whereupon Professor Rogers observed that he considered neither

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 8 April 1822, 1:119.

²Ibid.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 27 February 1822, 1:113.

Smith nor Semple qualified to judge young Bartle's performance, for they were engaged in conversation during almost the entire examination of his class. When the two professors responded that they were discussing the students, Professor Rogers replied that they also discussed a question of law, that they annoyed him so much he could scarcely proceed with his examination, and that he regarded "such behaviour as 'indecorous' and 'insulting' both to himself and to the students some of whom had actually spoken to him of the subject."¹ Professor Semple remarked that he had listened sufficiently to determine that the student was "bewildered" by an easy question; President Smith threatened to dissolve the meeting if more regard were not given to the feelings of the members of the Society and to the terms used by the Professor of Chemistry; for "he would not sit there to be insulted. The Professor of Chemistry proceeded to speak on the Impropriety of the Conduct of his Colleagues. Upon which the President forthwith adjourned the Society until Wednesday next at half past 3 oclk."² Meeting on the 27th, the Society "proceeded with the Business of the last meeting," agreeing on an evaluation for Elias Bartle: "His progress is satisfactory and his diligence commendable";³ and on evaluations for twenty other students,⁴ a total of fifty-nine students.

At their meeting on the 7th of July for the purpose of evaluating the students and sending reports to the parents and guardians

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 25 February 1822, 1:109-112.

²Ibid., p. 112.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 27 February 1822, 1:113.

⁴Ibid., pp. 113-115.

following examinations for the spring session, the Society agreed on comments for thirty-four students.¹ At earlier meetings in May, the Society had agreed that the degree, Bachelor of Arts, be conferred on three of the students on the 4th of July, Wm. E. Burfort (provided he presented a composition the Society could approve),² Fredk. Marx, and Richmond Lacey.³ The Society also agreed that Joseph D. White, having been both diligent and proficient in the law class, have conferred upon him the "Honourary Degree of Bachelor of Law...on the 4th of July next, & that the President be instructed to inform him to prepare an address to be delivered in public on that Day."⁴ Resolutions of the Society in both March and April could perhaps explain the discrepancy in numbers of students evaluated at the end of the fall and spring sessions this year, the conferring of degrees on some students notwithstanding, and apparently for similar discrepancies in preceding years. On the 25th of March, the Society noted the following deliberations:

Whereas many Students have heretofore quitted the College, before the July Examination much to their Injury: Resolved, That no student under the age of 21, be allowed to leave College between February and July without a previous Letter being addressed to the President by the parent or Guardian of any student who may wish to withdraw; and that in all Cases, the opinion of the Society shall be expressed as to the Conduct & Proficiency of every student, whether he have undergone a public examination, or not since the last Communication, so as addressed to his Friends—⁵

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1822, 1:127-129.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 16 May 1822, 1:121; Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 23 May 1822, 1:122; Ibid.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 16 May 1822, 1:121-122; the Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, notes that the degree Bachelor of Law was awarded to Joseph D. White in 1823 (p. 154).

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 25 March 1822, 1:118.

Accordingly, meeting on 27 April 1822, the Society agreed on evaluations to be forwarded to the parents and guardians of the following students who had "lately quitted" college:

John W. Christian...relaxed in Diligence after the last public examination, but of late...much more diligent,...generally, tho' not uniformly well prepared.

Christopher T. D. Pryor...relaxed in diligence after the last Public examination,...of late...occasionally well prepared.

Conway Whittle—Among the first in the Law class, orderly, correct & studious and has made the most flattering Improvement.

Richard E. Byrd...fell off considerably in diligence since Feb: Exam...[but] laboured under some Inconveniences on account of ill Health.

Wm. John B. Peachy...standing in Law the same....In the Moral Class ...some Improvement.

Elias Bartle...we do not know that he has been deficient in diligence,...since Examn. in February...has not been so successful in his studies.

Wm. E. ¹Lyon—The same—except that he has laboured under Ill-Health.

On the basis of the evaluations given, it is not clear why some of these students, most in fact, would have left the College before the examinations in July. For most, their problems did not appear to be academic.

Two disciplinary matters, unrelated in nature, required the attention of the Society this year. The first of these concerned the evaluation given William Nelson following the February examinations. Nelson had complained to the Professor of Law that he had not received a proper evaluation; and upon being told by Professor Semple that he had been evaluated correctly and that in this the other Professors concurred, young Nelson responded that if this were true, then Professor Semple had acted partially and was guilty of partiality; for he had given

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 27 April 1822, 1:120-121.

the same evaluation of Pryor and Graves. He further noted that the class agreed with him. Young Nelson was called before the Society, had Professor Semple's letter detailing the above read to him, and objected to no part of the letter: "Whereupon it was resolved that a Student never can be permitted to reflect upon the Motives of a Professor, and more particularly that it is utterly inadmissible that a Professor be assailed by a Student with regard to his conduct as a Member of this Institution."¹ Young Nelson was then required to make an acknowledgment stating that his conduct had been improper and inconsistent with his duty as a student and that he regretted having used expressions "justly offensive to that Gentleman."²

The second matter concerned the misconduct of four of the students, one of whom had apparently already quit College at the time of the incident which apparently occurred on 28 May 1822. President Smith had been awakened late at night by the "continued and violent" ringing of the College Bell. During his attempts to investigate the disturbance and determine the identity of those involved, small pieces of what he believed to be plaster were thrown at him; one person raised what appeared to be an umbrella as if to strike at him; and upon his advancing farther, another person with a lantern struck him a slight blow on the nose with a stick "or some other substance which he held in his Hand."³ President Smith recognized this young man as "Mr. Watkins" who, upon later being summoned to appear before the Society, admitted he had been

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 5 March 1822, 1:116-117.

²Ibid., pp. 117-118.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 31 May 1822, 1:122-123.

a member of the party that night but did not participate in forcing the belfry door nor in ringing the bell; he had brandished a stick and unintentionally struck President Smith, which he regretted exceedingly, "for fear of the Party's being amenable to the Civil authority if discovered."¹ Young Watkins was suspended until the matter was fully investigated, the other students involved not having come forward as yet; they were given until noon on the following Friday, at which time all students would be summoned to give whatever evidence they possessed.²

The Society met again on [—] June, presumably the Friday following the last meeting. During the interim Wm. Christian had told the President he was one of the students, that he had thrown at him in the hope of intimidating him, that he had no explanations to offer and was leaving town, preferring the Society to decide upon his case in his absence.³ All the students were then summoned, and before many names were called a Mr. Speed confessed he was among the group on the 28th but that no other person concerned except Watkins and Christian "was at that time a student of the College."⁴ After excusing the students, the Society resolved that Watkins & Christian "be forever expelled from this College";⁵ that Speed "be suspended for the Remainder of the Course"; and that "Mr. Powell having left the College, [have] the following communication...sent to his father by the President,....'As regards Indus-

¹Ibid., pp. 123-124.

²Ibid., pp. 124-125.

³"Proceedings of the Society," [—] June 1822, 1:125-126.

⁴Ibid., p. 126.

⁵Ibid.

try along Mr. P. had manifested some slight Improvement, but in other respects his conduct has been such that he cannot be permitted to return to this College.'"¹ The Society had apparently very recently warned the students of the "Impropriety of committing an Act by which this College was a few years ago thrown into the greatest confusion."² This body was assuredly exercising the leadership the students, the College, and the community needed and was apparently doing so in a manner designed to circumvent problems but was nevertheless both willing and able to cope wisely with problems when and if they did arise.

Compliance with the Board's instructions regarding scheduling of lectures and agreement among members of the Society in the event of desired changes constitutes the remaining considerations of the Society recorded in the minutes during 1822. On the 1st of March, the Society agreed that in the future the law lectures would be held at ten o'clock on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, and the lectures in the classics be delivered on the same days as heretofore—Monday, Wednesday, and Friday—but at twelve o'clock instead of at nine o'clock.³ On the 8th of April, they agreed "that all the classes would recite one hour sooner on each day than heretofore."⁴ The schedule for the fall session was determined by Professors Smith, Semple, Rogers, and Campbell on 28 October 1822: on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, the Freshman Moral Class would meet at nine o'clock, the Junior Math Class at ten o'clock, and

¹Ibid.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 31 May 1822, 1:124.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 1 March 1822, 1:115.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 8 April 1822, 1:119.

the Natural Philosophy Class at twelve o'clock; on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, the Junior Moral Class would meet at nine o'clock, the Freshman Math Class at ten o'clock, the Chemical Class at twelve o'clock, and the Law Class at ten o'clock.¹ Meeting again on 4 November 1822, they changed the schedule for the Law Class to nine o'clock on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.² Only forty-seven students were enrolled for the fall session, an enrollment decline of fourteen.³ It should be noted that Professor Keith's classes in the Classics and in Universal History were not included in the schedule of lectures for the fall session. Professor Keith was not present at the meeting of the Society on 28 October when the schedule of lectures was determined; but he was present on 4 November when the schedule for the law lectures was changed and at the last meeting of the Society to be recorded in the minutes for 1822, that held 9 December 1822.

Whether or not the Board of Governors and Visitors met in 1822 is not known. There is no evidence in the minutes of the Society of their having met. No mention is made of an annual report required of President Smith; no mention is made in the minutes of the Society for 7 July 1822, of any resolutions having been passed by the Board to be heard or facilitated by the Society; and no surviving manuscripts of their having met and conducted deliberations are available. One could assume that they did not meet. They did appoint a committee at their last annual meeting to collect and revise the statutes of the College;

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 28 October 1822, 1:130.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 4 November 1822, 1:130.

³Goodwin, Historical Notes.

and the phraseology of the last clause in the resolution appointing the members to this committee was somewhat ambiguous: "—and they kept the same at the meeting of the next convocation."¹ This is expressed almost as if it were added much later; and this, of course, is possible; however, the manuscript is dated 6 July 1821. No mention of this committee nor of any activity associated with this committee is noted in the minutes of the Society in 1822; however, as previously noted, neither was there any mention of this committee in the minutes of the Society in 1821. Overtones of a possible power struggle were noted by the author in 1821; however, there was no indication in the minutes of the Society in 1822 of any conflict or dissention between the two bodies. The minutes rather reflected a healthy, concerned Society busy with the administration of the financial affairs of the College and with the creation and conduct of an academic milieu conducive to the education of young men. The members of the Society had engaged in a bit of professional pettiness but had fulfilled their responsibilities and had given the College a strong leadership; and their compliance with the demands of a Board that did not meet, if it did not meet, would be indicative of an even stronger leadership posture on the part of both the President and the Society.

The first business of the Society in 1823 to be recorded in the minutes was transacted at a meeting held prior to 10 January presumably

¹Manuscript, 6 July 1821, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

and was held for the purpose of determining the College vote at the ensuing election, an election necessitated by the resignation of William Browne. The Society voted in favor of John Christian to fill the vacancy thus created in the Senate.¹ On 12 April 1823, the Society again met for the sole purpose of exercising its franchise, resolving that the College vote be given to Henley and Kirby for the legislature and to Burwell Bassett for Congress.² Professor Keith was not present at either of these two meetings, nor is it indicated in the minutes that he was present at any of the meetings of the Society held in 1823, nor was any mention made of him or of his classes in the recorded minutes for this year. As previously noted, he was present at the last two recorded meetings of the Society in 1822, that held on 4 November and on 9 December respectively.

The Society continued to exercise a strong leadership role during this year, the preponderant nature of the recorded considerations of this body being those devoted to student evaluation, student discipline, and the administration of the financial affairs of the College. The student misconduct recorded by the Society occurred in the Natural Philosophy and Chemistry classes of Professor Rogers and in each instance was reflected in the evaluation given the student. On 10 January the Society summoned James Beale who had previously been admonished privately by the President. The President had also written previously to young Beale's father concerning his son's inattention to his studies, particularly the lectures in Natural Philosophy. After hearing his

¹"Proceedings of the Society," [—] January 1823, 1:131.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 12 April 1823, 1:140.

excuses, the Society determined that if he did not immediately amend his habits of idleness and extreme inattention, he could no longer remain at the College.¹ On the 3rd of February, he was again called before the Society; his attention to his studies had not improved; and to this inattention in Natural Philosophy he had added great indecorum. He was summarily suspended until the 24th of February, was ordered to leave Williamsburg and go home to his father until the 23rd of February; and on the 24th, upon his return, he could not re-enter the College without a letter from his father stating that he wished his son to be received as a student and that, if readmitted, the young man would be more diligent and orderly, this to be accompanied by a pledge from young Beale himself to diligence and to orderly conduct. The Society further reserved the right to send him home a second time in the event he were readmitted and failed to comply with the stipulated conditions.² On the 5th of March, President Smith reported young Beale had complied with the conditions established by the Society on 3 February; and the Society voted to readmit him as a student.³ The Society had assumed a wise leadership posture in requiring young Beale to leave Williamsburg; for the bell ringing incident of the preceding session was undoubtedly due in large measure to the propinquity of one young man who was no longer a student, apparently of his own volition because the action of the Society in considering his case had been a written evaluation to his father and expulsion.⁴

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 10 January 1823, 1:132.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 3 February 1823, 1:132-133.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 5 March 1823, 1:136.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," [—] June 1822, 1:126.

Young Beale apparently improved sufficiently to remain in College during the spring session; however, following the examinations in July, he was once again summoned before the Society to explain why he had refused to answer questions at the public examinations, which they believed he could have answered, as well as why he had behaved so indecorously during the examinations. The Society's response to his answers, "that the questions he passed he was actually unable to answer, and that he was aware of his Errors in other Respects,"¹ could be interpreted as being one of helplessness and indecisiveness: "...the Society thought it unnecessary to take any further order in the Case."² On the other hand, they probably believed no further action to be necessary because they did not anticipate the father permitting young Beale to return to College; and according to available records, James Beale did not return to the College to continue his studies.³

The second student summoned to appear before the Society for misconduct in Professor Rogers' classes was John Knox who had brought a white cudgel to the Chemistry lecture on the 13th of March and had amused himself with it to the extent of distracting the attention of his classmates from the lectures. Professor Rogers proceeded to state to the class that conduct becoming to men was expected of them as students and that a rule for the future of his class was that no cudgels would be displayed, noting in his letter to the Society that the rule had been prompted by an experience the preceding day in his Natural Philosophy

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 4 July 1823, 1:144.

²Ibid.

³A Provisional List, p. 7.

class with a student who was practicing odd movements with a stick and who, when called to order, had laid the stick down and had amused himself for the remainder of the lecture by paring his nails. Young Knox, however, continued to practice various movements with his cudgel, finally bringing it to rest in an erect position on the shoulder of the student next to him; and, upon being requested to take it down, replied he would not, arose, and left the room. When summoned to explain his contumacious behaviour, Knox stated that he thought Professor Rogers' conduct to be "arbitrary and unbecoming." The Society concluded that it appeared it was not Knox's design to violate the rules of the College, that he should promise to submit to legitimate authority of the Professors in the future, and that he should acknowledge his error in the present case.¹ This young Knox did before the Society on the 18th of March.²

As in the case of James Beale, however, John Knox was again summoned before the Society following the July examinations, in his case for having refused to answer any question during three days of the public examinations. The Society noted that the "Remarks which Mr. K. made in his defense bore so lightly upon his Case that it is unnecessary to record them. Whereupon Resolved that the said John Knox be and he is by this sentence forever expelled from this Instn."³ Had the Society been less lenient in its attitude towards young Knox's behaviour in March, perhaps the College would not have had to experience a similar contumacy

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 14 March 1823, 1:137-139.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 18 March 1823, 1:139.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 4 July 1823, 1:144.

at the public examinations. It would appear that in this instance, the Society could and should have assumed a stronger disciplinary posture. Could the declining enrollments have played a role in determining the posture the Society did assume?

The evaluations of the Society forwarded to parents and guardians following the examinations administered in February of this year would indicate that most of the students were most attentive to their studies. Of the forty-six students commented upon by the Society, twenty-nine students (many times the usual number) received the evaluation "orderly, diligent and attentive; and have made the most flattering Improvement."¹ The residents of Williamsburg thought highly of the students at this time also; for on the 5th of March the Society, responding favorably to an invitation from the residents, gave permission for the Students "to be present at a Ball to be given on the 18th Inst in compliment to them."²

Although no mention is made in the minutes of students leaving the College prior to the end of the spring session, a number of them probably did so because the Society forwarded comments to parents and guardians for only fourteen students following the administration of the examinations in July.³ Fifteen students were to have been granted sixteen degrees by the Society, but only fourteen degrees were conferred, two students, Conway Whittle, a candidate for the degree Bachelor of

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 24 February 1823, 1:133-136.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 5 March 1823, 1:136.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1823, 1:144-145.

Law,¹ and John H. Cocke, a candidate for the degree Bachelor of Art,² "having failed to hand in a Dissertation as reqd. by the Statutes...."³ One of these students, John Cocke addressed a letter to the Society requesting that he be considered a candidate for the Bachelor of Arts degree the following year without further examinations provided he submit a thesis which would meet with their approval; the Society granted his request.⁴ Those students receiving the degree Bachelor of Arts were James Watson, Alexander W. Tennent, John Morris, William Samuel Scott, Robert Baylor, Robert Saunders, Elias T. Bartle, and Christopher J. D. Pryor. Pryor was also awarded the degree Bachelor of Law as were Ralph Graves, Willoughby Newton, Benjamin F. Dabney, John W. Munford, and Otway B. Barraud.⁵ It should be noted that three of the students who were to have been awarded degrees were among the students who left the College early the preceding year: Pryor, Bartle, and Whittle; and that one of these, Christopher J. D. Pryor, was awarded both the Bachelor of Art and Bachelor of Law degrees.⁶ The Society, it would appear, was providing excellent academic leadership for the College; and even Professor Rogers had mellowed; for in presenting the facts relating to

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 8 April 1823, 1:140.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 12 May 1823, 1:140.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 4 July 1823, 1:143.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid. The Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, notes that Bartle, Morris, Saunders, Barraud, Dabney, Newton, and Pryor received their respective degrees in 1824; that a Richard Baylor (Robert in the minutes) and a George Wythe Munford (John W. in the minutes) received their respective degrees also in 1824; and Ralph Graves is omitted from both years (p. 154).

⁶"Proceedings of the Society," 27 April 1822;1:120-121.

young Knox's behaviour, he had noted that "it gives me great Pain to be obliged to make the above Report...."¹ Professor Rogers had also completed a syllabus on Natural Philosophy, and the Society voted to pay him \$150 for one hundred copies which were to be sold by the College.²

Consideration of the financial affairs of the College are not noted in the recorded minutes of that body for the year 1823 prior to those recorded on 1 July 1823, and this entire meeting was devoted to financial considerations. The Bursar, Edmund Christian, presented the Book of Accounts and the Cash accounts from 13 February 1823, the cash received during this period totaling \$4462.27, payments and investments totaling \$4355.28, leaving a balance "in his hands to be put out to Interest of \$106.99";³ the account was examined, allowed and signed. The Bursar's report showed considerable interest due and in arrears. In response to this situation, suits were ordered by the Society to be instituted on bonds dated 10 January 1805, 18 August 1810, 31 August 1810 (two), 5 August 1811, 1 April 1812, and 6 August 1815; and on a bond dated 11 August 1811, in the amount of \$8842 and arising out of a lottery, in the event satisfactory provisional arrangements could not be made.⁴ The Bursar was further instructed to sell four hundred acres of very poor land in Sussex County at \$2.50 per acre since the interest which could be earned would exceed the present rent receipts.⁵ The Bur-

¹P. K. Rogers to Dr. Smith, President, 13 March 1823, "Proceedings of the Society," 14 March 1823, 1:138.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1823, 1:146.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1823, 1:141.

⁴Ibid., pp. 141-143.

⁵Ibid., p. 143.

sar was successful in making arrangements for the bond of Barziza and McCandlish dated 11 August 1811. These arrangements involved the two gentlemen executing their bond in the penalty of \$9074.32 with half this sum payable on demand with interest to the President and Professors or Masters, and Barziza executing an assignment to them of his claim as administrator of Lucy S. Paradise; it was so ordered, signed, and sealed.¹ On the 16th of July, with Smith, Semple, and Campbell present, the Society ordered the appointment of William R. Ruffin of Sussex as Collector of the College Rents in Sussex County and authorized him "to collect all arrears of Rent now due or hereafter to become due,...to give Acquittance and Receipts for all Money and Tobacco received, to sue out attachments when necessary and proper, and to cause distress to be made for Rent arrear & due the College."²

Further financial decisions were not made or, if so, were not recorded until the meeting of the Society held on the 27th of October. At this meeting it was noted that the James River Company was now willing to borrow money at six per cent, and the Society instructed the Bursar to lend to this company whatever principal came into his hands after complying with the terms for the loan approved for William Daniel on 9 December 1822. The Society further instructed the Bursar to collect all bonds due to the College under \$1000 as expeditiously as possible after 1 January 1824; for numerous persons were indebted to the College for small sums, and it was exceedingly inconvenient to collect interest on all these. Beginning 1 July 1824, the Bursar was instructed to in-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1823, 1:146.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 16 July 1823, 1:147.

stitute proceedings against all debtors who as of that date had arrears for interest up to six months; and he was instructed to notify each individual concerned of the Society's resolutions.¹ On 11 November 1823, a deed, in fee simple with general warranty, conveying two tracts of land in King William County, 210 acres and 109 acres respectively, to James Edward was ordered by the Society to be signed, sealed, and delivered by the Bursar;² and on 28 November 1823, payment with interest was received and acknowledged for the bond of John B. Seawell and John C. Pryor.³ No further financial transactions or considerations by the Society were recorded for this year. It would appear that the Society was providing excellent financial leadership for the College and was doing so in spite of the fact that the Board of Governors and Visitors did not hold its annual meeting in July 1823.

On 8 July 1823, the Society met and decided to publish the annual report of the President which was required by the Board of Governors and Visitors and which was to have been presented to the convocation of the Governors and Visitors at their annual meeting on the 4th of July. This body had not met due to the fact that from "accidental Circumstances a sufficient number of the visitors did not attend";⁴ and the Society concluded "that the public [should] be put into possession of the Facts which it [the report] contains."⁵ The text of the report

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 27 October 1823, 1:148.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 11 November 1823, 1:149.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 28 November 1823, 1:150.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1823, 1:147.

⁵Ibid.

conformed to the stipulations outlined by the Board in the resolution requiring the submission of an annual report to that body by the President: the state of the buildings, the conduct of the professors and the manner and extent to which they had fulfilled their duties, the state of the schools, the improvement of the students, and any other matters deemed to be pertinent in aiding the Board in the judicious exercise of its leadership role.¹ The report stated that the leaks in the roof of the College, present for half a century, had been "secured"; that needed plastering could and was now being done; that new sashes were ordered and that in a short time the buildings would be and could be kept in proper order; that valuable and costly works had been added to the library from the sums received from students and set aside for this purpose; that the professors had been devoted and successful in carrying out their duties and an unprecedented number of degrees were awarded, eight in the arts and seven in law; that the enrollment was not as flourishing as friends of the College would like but a "greater absolute number" of students had remained until their educations were completed; that the primary cause of fewer students being enrolled at the College than was desirable was the present pecuniary conditions of the country which was further compounded by the erroneous impressions regarding the expense of attending William and Mary, for in reality the sum of \$300 was sufficient and \$350 was an ample allowance; that the expense of attending the College was "but little in comparison with the advantages which this establishment affords. What these advantages are, there is no occasion for the President to point out. They are notoriously great

¹Manuscript, [1821], William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

and may be secured with as much certainty as the nature of things admits of...."¹ President Smith concluded his report with the expression of a strongly held belief on his part that a parental and peer expectation of every student who matriculated, without exception, that he return home with his degree and a concomitant expectation of the student on the part of the College with the inference on the part of all that the failure to do so reflected "some defect in his diligence or some irregularity in his conduct" was all that was needed to assure every parent and guardian that "no reasonable expectations on...[their part would] ever be frustrated."²

This report is further evidence of the strong and wise leadership role being exercised by the Society; but the absence of any manuscripts relating to the Board of Governors and Visitors, the concomitant absence of any mention of the Board in the minutes of the Society other than the statement that an insufficient number of the members were present to conduct the affairs of the convocation at its scheduled annual meeting, and the absence of evidence that a meeting of this body was held during the preceding year give one pause when attempting to assess the possible leadership role being exercised by the Board of Governors and Visitors at this point in the history of the College. However, one indication that the Board may have met in February to attend the public examinations, to evaluate the performance of the Professors, and to conduct business relative to financial and perhaps other affairs of the College was the fact that the report submitted to the Society by

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1823, 1:147.

²Ibid.

the Bursar on the 1st of July was concerned with "the Book of Accounts of the College and the Cash accounts from the 13th February to this day"¹ This could mean that a previous report had been prepared up to the 13th for a meeting in February. What the "accidental Circumstances" were which prevented a number of the members from attending the annual meeting are not indicated in the available evidence; and once again the validity of President Madison's belief that members of the Board of Governors and Visitors of the College should live within a forty mile radius can be seen, particularly at this time and during the time of Madison's presidency considering distance and modes of transportation. Five of the members, as noted earlier, were somewhat distant from Williamsburg: two from Richmond, two from Albemarle, and one from Brunswick. One would prefer to assume that the Board was exercising its assigned leadership role, but such an assumption must necessarily be tempered with conjecture and with questions. It is evident, however, that the Society continued to expedite the wishes of this body in the conduct of the affairs of the College.

Meeting on 27 October 1823, the Society proceeded to determine a schedule for the lectures for the fall and spring sessions. On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, the Freshman Moral Class would meet at nine o'clock, the Junior Mathematical Class, at ten o'clock; the Chemical Class, at ten o'clock; and the Law Class, at nine o'clock. On Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, the Junior Moral Class would meet at nine o'clock; the Natural Philosophy Class, at ten o'clock; and the Freshman

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1823, 1:141.

Mathematical Class at ten o'clock.¹ Meeting on 11 November 1823, once again, and probably on the basis of matriculations, they changed the schedule of lectures; and once again the change involved the Law lectures: "...in future...the Law Lectures shall be delivered at 10 o'clock and the Mathematical Lectures at 11 o'clock instead of the Hours prescribed in the preceding Meeting."² Also once again the enrollment at the fall session was fewer than that of the preceding year with an enrollment of thirty-three, fourteen fewer than in 1822.³ The Society's characterization, however, that a preponderance of the students who were enrolled were diligent and attentive to their studies was reflected perhaps in their decision on 27 October 1823, that "a Librarian shall be appointed and that a Compensation of fifty dollars p annum to be paid out of the Library fees be allowed him for his services. Resolved that Mr. Simpkins be appointed Librarian";⁴ William J. Simpkins was a student at the College at this time.⁵

The Society had provided excellent leadership for the College in 1823, both administrative and academic, it would appear; this body had also facilitated good public relations by exhibiting both an appreciation and an awareness of its responsibilities to the citizenry of Williamsburg and to the state at large; and a similar appreciation had been expressed by the Williamsburg residents. One would be inclined to

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 27 October 1823, 1:148.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 11 November 1823, 1:149.

³Goodwin, Historical Notes.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 27 October 1823, 1:149.

⁵A Provisional List, p. 36.

accept President Smith's assignation of a depressed economy as the primary cause for the decline in enrollment; for, on the basis of all available evidence, the Society had continued to exhibit a strong and wise leadership posture: in being cognizant of and in facilitating student discipline, academic achievement, and completion of degree requirements; in giving adequate attention to lectures, both the Faculty and the students; and in giving requisite attention to the College's finances, resources, buildings, and other properties. Indeed, the Society, the Board of Governors and Visitors, the students, and the citizenry of Williamsburg and of the commonwealth, in light of the long history of the College and her continued survival in spite of periods of adversity, would have been as surprised as Jefferson apparently was had they known of an apparent unawareness of the College's existence even on the part of one in America who at this time had written a geography of this country, a copy of which was presented to Jefferson by its author. This rather surprising fact comes to light in the correspondence of Jefferson with Sidney Morse, a gentleman from New Haven and the author of the geography. Writing to Morse on 9 March 1823, Jefferson, after commenting on statistical aspects of the work specifically referred to him by Morse, made the following observation relative to the College of William and Mary:

In your list of colleges...you have omitted that of William and Mary in Virginia, founded by the sovereigns of those names about 1692, and probably the most liberally endowed of any one in the US. it is now much reduced by ill management of it's [sic] funds, and less resorted to on account of climate. it has generally had from 60. to 80. students and has furnished constantly from¹ it's first institution it's full quota of distinguished characters.

¹Th:[omas] Jefferson to Sidney Morse, 9 March 1823. Single Manuscripts, Small Collections, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

Surely Sidney Morse knew of the existence of the College of William and Mary! One would assume that one who writes a geography would at least have read the newspapers of his day. Perhaps the College's "friends" to the north were still trying to pretend that the College had long since closed its doors; only, in this instance, the pretense, if intentional, was that she, really the oldest college in the country, had never existed.

The year 1824 was a very critical year, a year of crisis for the College of William and Mary. The minutes of the Society record the execution of many of the leadership responsibilities discharged by this body in the past; however, the execution of other responsibilities usually recorded are not noted. These omissions, particularly the absence of any record of a meeting held to determine the individual evaluations of the students at the end of the spring session and of a meeting held to determine the schedule of lectures prior to the opening of the fall session, are the only indications in the minutes of this body until the 29th of November 1824, that those charged with leadership responsibilities for the College were involved in events and considerations of crisis proportions. Among the leadership responsibilities recorded, the exercise of their franchise was the purpose and only recorded business of a meeting held on the 12th of May, when the College vote was given to Goodall and Pearce as representatives in the Legislature for James City County,¹ and on the 1st of November, when it was

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 12 May 1824, 1:162.

agreed that the College vote "at the Election of Electors be given for Crawford Tickett and that it be delivered in."¹

Several of the recorded meetings of the Society were devoted entirely to the consideration of financial affairs beginning with the meeting held 15 January 1824, the first recorded meeting held this year. The first act of the Society at this meeting was to rescind the resolution passed 27 October 1823, which directed the Bursar to call in all bonds held for sums less than one thousand dollars.² Since these bonds were said to be numerous, there probably had arisen a rather widespread hue and cry when the Bursar attempted to carry out this directive. The second resolution concerned the conversion of income into capital in the event interest from any cause should be lost to the College;³ and the third matter to receive consideration was the examination of the Bursar's Books of Accounts and the Cash Account for the period 1 July 1823 to 15 January 1824. The cash received during this period, including the balance of \$106.99 noted 1 July 1823, was \$19,346.61; payments and investments were \$9,412.78, leaving a balance "to be put out to Interest of \$9,933.83...."⁴ The books were found to be correct and were signed by the President and Professors. The Bursar then delivered to the Society all vouchers for monies paid by him since he had assumed the office of Bursar, and they were deposited in the strong box of the Society entrusted to the care of the President.⁵

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 1 November 1824, 1:164.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 15 January 1824, 1:151.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp. 151-152.

⁵Ibid., p. 152.

The Bursar followed a similar procedure of reporting to the Society for the period 15 January 1824 to 5 July 1824, at the meeting of the Society held on this date. The cash balance reported in January had been loaned to Thos. Jefferson Randolph according to directions; a balance of "\$81...now due by the said Bursar upon his cash account,... [was determined to belong] to the Library Fund";¹ and the Bursar's vouchers of payments were again deposited in the strong box. Other financial considerations during this year concerned the release of a trustee in a deed of trust upon payment to the Bursar of the balance due the College, the only business to receive consideration at a meeting on 19 January;² the adoption of a resolution, on 1 March, instructing the President to attend the sale of a lot of land which was advertised "to be disposed of" for the benefit of the College on 3 March and to bid on the land for the College if he deemed it to be necessary;³ and the purchase of the lot of land for \$250 as reported by the President to the Society on 5 March, the highest bid on the 3rd having been \$200 and the attendant debt and cost having been circa \$270.⁴ No other financial considerations were recorded for this year.

Two of the recorded meetings of the Society were devoted to student evaluation; and four, to student discipline. On 25 February, the Society agreed on evaluations for thirty students, the individual evaluations to be inserted in the usual circular forwarded to parents and

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 5 July 1824, 1:163.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 19 January 1824, 1:152.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 1 March 1824, 1:158.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 5 March 1824, 1:158.

guardians at the end of each session.¹ On the 5th of July, the Society decided to award the degree Bachelor of Arts to John H. Cocke,² having concluded that unusual circumstances had prevented him from completing the thesis required of him in their proceedings of 12 May 1823,³ completion of which had been promised by him when the Society granted him an extension of time on 4 July 1823;⁴ and the Secretary, Professor Campbell, was instructed to forward his diploma to him.⁵ At their meeting on July 5th the Society also agreed to confer the degree Master of Arts on Thomas R. Dew.⁶ This young man was destined to become a professor at the College in 1826⁷ and President of the College in 1836.⁸ However, as noted, deliberations concerned with the evaluation of each student for the purpose of forwarding a written report to the parent or guardian of each, which were normally considered and recorded at this meeting of the Society, were not recorded. One could assume with a marked degree of certainty that there were students at the College during the spring session to be evaluated. A book containing one hundred sixty-three pages of notes taken from the lectures of President Smith on moral and politi-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 25 February 1824, 1:155-157.

²Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 154.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 12 May 1823, 1:140.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 4 July 1823, 1:143-144.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 5 July 1824, 1:162.

⁶Ibid.; Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 154.

⁷A Provisional List, p. 49.

⁸Vital Facts, 1978, p. 43.

cal philosophy by a student, Gerard B. Stuart,¹ in 1824 has survived; and a list of names, indicated to be members of the senior class, appears inside the book cover.²

Another indication that there were students to be evaluated at the end of the spring session was the nature of the deliberations of the Society concerning student discipline during the winter and spring of 1824. On 23 January 1824, the Society resolved that the President should summon and examine all or any of the students he thought necessary in order to determine which students had been involved in a recent "gross breach of Decorum" since none of those involved had reported themselves to the President in spite of his requests that they do so; and he was to report his proceedings to the Society on the following Monday at one o'clock.³ Once again some of the students had been involved in breaking open the College steeple late at night and ringing the bell. The more serious aspect of the students' misconduct at this time and at the time of a similar infraction in May of 1822 was the flagrant violation of the traditional code of honor, a code incumbent upon all young men who were students at the College. The student at William and Mary, as succinctly characterized by one of the professors scarcely a decade later, came to the College a gentleman, was received and treated as a gentleman, and was known in no other character, his honor being

¹A Provisional List, p. 38.

²"Notes on Moral and Political Philosophy" taken from the lectures of John Augustine Smith by Gerard B. Stuart. John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 23 January 1824, 1:152-153.

the only witness to which the Faculty appealed.¹ It was incumbent upon these students to report to the President and/or the Professors infractions of the College laws or statutes. This, in both instances, they had failed to do.

In 1822 the sentence of the Society had been expulsion. In the present instance, the Society was more lenient in its decisions. Meeting on the 27th of January 1824, after hearing four young men who the President had reported should be summoned to appear before them, the Society decided that young Overton was in no way involved in the incident though he had some knowledge of it, that Hankins had been with the party but had left upon learning of the intended misconduct, that Brockenbrough was an unwilling participant and was therefore admonished by the President who exacted from him a promise of proper conduct in the future, and that Byrd who was involved and who showed no contrition be suspended until 24 February and his readmission at that time be dependent upon written application with a subsequent decision to be given by the Society. The Society further resolved that steps immediately be taken for the prosecution of three other persons, who were apparently not students at the time, and a fourth person, as yet unidentified.²

On the 25th of March the Society was again confronted with acts of misconduct, not specifically identified in the minutes, on the part of nine students who had failed to comply with a request that they report themselves to the President following incidents committed on the nights of the 20th and the 23rd; and when summoned to appear before the

¹The Honor System of William and Mary, p. 6.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 27 January 1824, 1:153-155.

Society, the President having learned the names of seven of the young men when they were presented by the Grand Jury and of two others through further investigations, all refused to make any statement regarding their misconduct except Minor who asked for additional time in which to decide on his response. The Society, deciding that "a Combination had been formed to resist Collegiate authority,"¹ suspended the eight young men—Allen, Anderson, Barklay, Wilkins, George, Cary, Smith, and Brockenbrough—for the remainder of the term, the readmission of each being dependent on a written application and the subsequent judgment of the Society.² At a meeting on the 29th of March, young Minor was heard; and the Society decided to overlook his actions.³ At this same meeting, two of the young men who had been suspended and who had subsequently requested that their cases be reconsidered, were also heard; and on the basis of the facts presented, of the apologies made by each for insubordination, and of the temper and disposition exhibited by each during the conduct of their hearing, the Society decided to remit the sentence of suspension imposed on both Allen and Smith.⁴ Assuming that there were no further disciplinary suspensions and cognizant that two of the students were awarded degrees in July, there were twenty-two students, unless there had been additional enrollments during the term, to be given written evaluations at the end of the spring session. The Society, therefore, either exercised its leadership responsibility and

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 25 March 1824, 1:159-160.

²Ibid., p. 160.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 29 March 1824, 1:161.

⁴Ibid., pp. 161-162.

evaluated these students and failed to record their decisions in the minutes or they failed to fulfill this responsibility to the parents or guardians and to the students. Some of the students could have left the College prior to the July examinations, as they had done in the past; but the Society had previously resolved that such students would be evaluated and a report sent to their parents and guardians.

Three surviving manuscripts attest to the fact that the other body charged with leadership responsibilities, the Board of Governors and Visitors, met in July of 1824; this could have been the first meeting of this body since July 1821. One of the actions of the Board, meeting on 7 July 1824, was the passage of a statute to repeal in part and to amend and continue in force other parts of the "Statute Concerning the President." The statute, as passed, stipulated that the appointment and election of a President would at all times be made by the Visitors and Governors in a general meeting; that it was the duty of the President to inspect the revenues and expenses of the College to see that a full accounting of all receipts and issues be made at least once a year and the accounting be presented to the Governors and Visitors at their general meeting; that all "epistolary commerce" required in conducting the business of the College be done by the President; that he preside at the meetings of the Society, appoint the times of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and verify the accuracy of the minutes of this body; that the President provide for the upkeep and repair of the College buildings; that the President always be allowed to be and be present at all meetings and councils of the Board of Governors and Visitors in order that the Board may be better informed of all matters relating to the College; that the yearly salary of the President be five

hundred dollars with a house and garden "as long as the Revenues of the College will afford it. Let all other parts of the said statute be, and the same are hereby repealed."¹ The other two manuscripts both relate to a future meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors, the first resolving that "a meeting of the Visitors & Governors of William & Mary College ought to be held on the 26th day of November next; [and marked through is the statement] then to deliberate on what other measures should be adopted for promoting the success of the institution."² The second resolution resolved "that the Rector be requested to address a circular Letter to each visitor earnestly soliciting his attendance at the meeting to be held on the 26th day of November next."³ The language of this resolution would seem to indicate that the Rector was not present at the time of this deliberation.

Whether or not other statutes were discussed at this meeting; whether or not the committee appointed to collect, review, and revise all the statutes of the College had completed any or all of its task is not known. That the consideration of one matter, the election of five new members to the Board of Governors and Visitors, took place at this meeting is verified in an article which appeared in the Family Visitor, 10 July 1824. The gentlemen elected were James M. Garnett of Essex; Joseph Prentis, jun. of Williamsburg; Robert Stanard of Richmond;

¹Manuscript, 7 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Manuscript, 7 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Manuscript, 7 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Robert B. Taylor of Norfolk; and John D. Watkins of New Kent.¹

Another matter of which no mention is made in the surviving manuscripts of the proceedings of the Board of Governors and Visitors in July nor in the minutes of the Society until 29 November 1824, but which undoubtedly received considerable deliberation in each of these two bodies concerned with the leadership of the College was the subject of removal of the College from Williamsburg to Richmond. On the basis of a letter from Robert G. Scott written in Williamsburg on 6 July 1824, to John Tyler, it is evident that the Board of Governors and Visitors met on 5 July and appointed a committee of the Visitors, of which Tyler was appointed chairman, "to whom the Report of the President of W^m & Mary College, on the condition & prospects of that institution was referred—" ² It is also evident from Scott's letter that the report of President Smith included the recommendation that the College of William and Mary be moved from Williamsburg to Richmond. Scott was writing Tyler for the purpose of enclosing a report of the proceedings of the Common Hall of the City of Richmond on 1 July 1824, relative to procuring a site and erecting suitable buildings for a college, a document intended for the use of the committee of Visitors appointed on the 5th:

...should the recommendation to remove W^m & Mary College to that place, made by the president, be adopted—...It [the enclosure] is intended to shew, what may be expected from the City of Richmond acting in its corporate character....I have adopted this mode of

¹A Provisional List, pp. 52, 54-55; Family Visitor, 10 July 1824, does not include the name of Joseph Prentis, jun. of Williamsburg.

²Ro[bert] G. Scott to John Tyler, 6 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, 1821-1830, Archives, College of William and Mary.

communication as seeming to me most¹ respectfull & satisfactory to both the Committee & the Convocation.

The committee report enclosed with Scott's letter to Tyler outlined the numerous advantages that removal to Richmond would afford the College, including the establishment of law and medical schools. The report also noted that the committee did not have any specific information as to the "views and wishes of the Visitors and Professors of William and Mary...but have reason to believe that the question will be considered at the approaching convocation and there seems...no indelicacy or want of respect...in making known the wishes of the inhabitants of Richmond in regard to the issue of their deliberations."² The three resolutions recommended by the committee and adopted by the Common Hall stipulated that the Hall would procure a site in Richmond and erect buildings to the extent of thirty thousand dollars; that they would unite with the Visitors and Professors of William and Mary to present a petition for removal to the next General Assembly; and that they would request Robert G. Scott, a member of the Board of Governors and Visitors of William and Mary, to communicate the results of their proceedings to the Visitors and Professors of the College in a form which seemed proper and respectful to him.³

Scott further noted in his letter to Tyler that in addition to the proposal of the Common Hall to procure a site and erect suitable buildings, the Trustees of the Richmond Academy would surrender their

¹Ibid.

²"City of Richmond, In Common Council, 1 July 1824," Manuscript, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

money & property to the Visitors of William and Mary, this representing an amount of ten to twelve thousand dollars; and the citizens of Richmond would contribute individually at least ten thousand dollars, a guarantee for which would be given at once. He concluded by stating: "These facts are communicated with no other view, than that should the expense of a removal be the only obstacle to that measure, it may be removed as far as practicable—" ¹ The report of President Smith to the Board of Governors and Visitors on the condition and prospects of the College and his recommendation for the removal of the College to Richmond is not among the surviving documents of that body nor, as noted, is it or any other deliberations relative to such a decision recorded in the minutes of the Society during this time. Evidence that such deliberations surely transpired can be seen in a letter to Jefferson from Joseph C. Cabell, written from Williamsburg on 5 May 1824:

A scheme is now in agitation at this place, the subject of which is to remove the College of William and Mary to the city of Richmond. All the professors...except the professor of law, are decidedly in favor of it. Chancellor Brown and others, of the Board of Visitors, will give it their support....It will most unquestionably be attempted and will be powerfully supported....The capital of the college is upward of \$100,000....My present opinion is decidedly opposed to the plan; because I know that the college would be made a rival to the university, and we should lose in that institution more than we should gain in the College. ²

Jefferson's response to Cabell on 16 May 1824, indicated that he, too, opposed the removal; but he advised Cabell to create no obstacles to the removal, to let those favoring removal petition the legislature:

...let them get the old structure completely on wheels, and not till then put in our claim to its reception....The \$100,000 of principal

¹Ibid.

²Joseph C. Cabell to Thomas Jefferson, 5 May 1824. In Adams, The College of William and Mary, pp. 58-59.

which you say still remains at William and Mary, by its interest of \$6,000 would give us the two deficient professors, with an annual surplus for the purchase of books.¹

Jefferson and Cabell apparently did not view the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg as being a threat to the success of the University of Virginia. They apparently had come to view the two ideas, the lack of centrality and the existence of an unhealthy climate in the vicinity of Williamsburg, as being accepted realities in the minds of the citizenry of Virginia and as being adequate reasons for the College of William and Mary not being the university for Virginia. These two gentlemen apparently did view the College of William and Mary in Richmond as being a possible collusion of forces, political and otherwise, and a threat to the success of the new university. However, it would appear that at this point, at least in Jefferson's view, it was a threat which they could withstand and, in fact, could use to advantage should the proposition for removal actually eventuate. It would also appear that the Society's conception of the loyalty of the friends of William and Mary in the Legislature to take the initiative in the event the probability of a successful maneuver in the Legislature on behalf of the College should materialize, as noted in the actions of the Society in 1821, was a valid one and that its validity can be seen in the sequence of events evolving at this time.

Whether or not the removal of the College to Richmond was a desirable solution to the continued success and prosperity of the College of William and Mary became the subject of much controversy during the ensuing months; and although the minutes of the Society and the

¹Th:omas] Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 16 May 1824. Washington, Writings of Jefferson, 7:353-354.

surviving manuscripts concerning the proceedings of the Board of Governors and Visitors may have been silent on the subject of removal of the College during this time, the press was not. An article in a Richmond newspaper, the Family Visitor, on 10 July 1824, gives a brief summary of the involvement of the press up to that date:

Much has been written of late on the subject of a removal of the College of William and Mary to the city of Richmond. It was first suggested in a communication in the Petersburg Republican, and has since been advocated in the papers of this city.¹

The article also, in all probability, gives a rather accurate summary of the sequence of events up to that point, including a listing of the new members elected to the Board of Governors and Visitors:

It is proposed by some to make it a University on the plan of those in Europe; others wish it to hold an intermediate rank between our Academies and the University of Virginia. The Common Hall of the city offer to appropriate the means to procure a site and erect suitable buildings, provided the expense does not exceed \$30,000; and it is said that individuals will contribute liberally. At a recent meeting of the Visitors of the College, the subject of removal was discussed; it was recommended by the President, and opposed by several of the Board. The final determination was that another attempt should be made to revive the institution at Williamsburg; and in case of its failure, all would join in its removal.²

This last statement undoubtedly relates to the November meeting scheduled by the Board on 7 July. The article concluded with the following statements, the validity of which most persons would feel compelled to concede:

Whether the College remains at Williamsburg or is removed to this city, its prosperity will still depend materially on its internal organization and management. Moral, as well as physical causes operate³ powerfully in elevating or depressing literary institutions.

¹Family Visitor, 10 July 1824, Archives, Virginia State Library.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

The scope of the press was extended to include an ever-increasing audience. On 15 July 1824, an article concerning the proposed removal appeared in the Boston Weekly Messenger.¹ By Saturday, the 17th of July, the report of the committee appointed by the Board of Governors and Visitors on the 5th of July appeared in the Family Visitor;² and by the following Saturday, 24 July, an editorial taking issue with one of the recommendations of the committee appeared in the New York Observer.³ The report of the committee of the Visitors presented three resolutions: first, to repeal that part of a statute or statutes which required the student to inform against his peers or to confess his own guilt; second, to request the President to appoint a suitable person to collect all the statutes, arrange them according to subject and date, and present them to the convocation at its next meeting; and third, to request the President to have a copy of the committee's report published in one or more public newspapers.⁴ The resolution with which the New York Observer took issue was the abrogation of the statute(s) requiring a student to inform on others and to declare himself guilty or innocent:

In our opinion, there is very little judgment discovered in this recommendation of the committee. If we are not mistaken, it is considered as a settled principle with the instructors in our northern

¹Boston Weekly Messenger, 15 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Family Visitor, 17 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³New York Observer, 24 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴Family Visitor, 17 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

colleges, that order cannot be maintained unless students can be compelled to give evidence against their comrades. Indeed, if this principle is given up, we see not why the grossest outrages may not be practised with impunity.

The stated reason for an inquiry into the "state and condition" of the College by a committee of the Board of Governors and Visitors, according to the published report, was the decline in enrollment during the past two years; and in assigning reasons for this decline, the report noted the enactment and enforcement of certain statutes to be the principle cause: "...the statutes believed to be unpalatable to the public and obnoxious to many....[and] which seems to have attracted more of public odium than any other, is that which requires a young man to inform...."² In addressing this stated reason for initiating the inquiry, it should be noted that the enrollment had sharply declined in 1818, from ninety-two to fifty, and that the vacillation since 1818 had not been so perceptible. In 1821 the enrollment did increase to sixty-one, but the years 1819, 1820, and 1822, had enrollments of forty-nine, forty-four, and forty-seven respectively. The enrollment of thirty-three for 1823 did represent a perceptible decline; but this represented one year, not two; and the enrollment for the fall term of 1824, the adverse publicity notwithstanding, was thirty-five.³ The committee report conceded that the economic conditions of the times together with the increase in the number of literary institutions, particularly Tran-

¹New York Observer, 24 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Family Visitor, 17 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Goodwin, Historical Notes.

sylvania College to the west and Chapel-Hill Academy to the south, had influenced the number of students attending William and Mary but considered such competition healthy:

...a fairer opportunity is not afforded at any other literary institution in this country, than at William and Mary...the College fixed in its reputation...[has only] to persevere in...[its] course until the spirit of novelty ceases to rule, and prosperity will... return..., if...[it] continue[s] to deserve it.¹

In addressing the reason assigned by the committee in its published report as having created the most public odium, one is forced to view their reasoning with skepticism; for the statutes in question had been explicitly detailed among the revisions and additions to the Statutes of the College by the Board of Governors and Visitors on 4 March 1802;² and a number of the current members of the Board if not most, including John Tyler, the chairman of the committee, became alumni of the College during the later years of Madison's administration. One must concede that possibly the statute's enforcement had been intermittent; but it is more probable that a need for its enforcement had less frequently prevailed, for numerous instances of its incorporation into the code of ethics of the young gentlemen attending the College have been noted, thus indicating the existence of such an attitude toward honor to be a part of the system of governance extant at the College. Even today this attitude exists as a specifically defined aspect of the Honor Code of the College to which each student is required to

¹Family Visitor, 17 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

subscribe upon matriculation.¹ Among the reasons given in the committee's report for total abrogation of the statute(s) are noted the following:

To force a young man to become the accuser of his associates and intimate friends, when the punishment attendant on such course, is one which may overshadow their future prospects in life, is to force upon him the violation of the most elevated and honourable feelings of his nature, while to compel him to acknowledge his own guilt or assert his innocence, is violatory of the whole tenor of our public law,....[for] among the earliest of the principles which he recognizes, is that which announces that no man can be held his own accuser, or esteemed to be guilty until his guilt is proved.²

The committee reasoning relating to the abrogation of this statute also addressed their rejection of a recommendation which had been "strongly insisted on by many;...to relieve the young men from all collegiate control, except during the time of lecture, and to subject them to the civil authority exclusively...."³ They reasoned that the morale of the student required as much attention as his advancement in literature and science and that the parents expected the professors to substitute for parental authority in this respect.⁴ One of the advantages of removal of the College to Richmond outlined by the Committee of the Common Hall reflected an opposite view on the part of that body, basing such a view on the locale—a city versus a small town: "...the government of the College will be easy without the odious regulations on the part of the Faculty so necessary in smaller towns:...the students scattered throughout the town, in numerous boarding houses, will be readily controled by

¹The Honor System, pp. 7, 9, 12-13.

²Family Visitor, 17 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

the Society and the civil authorities of Richmond."¹

The report of the committee of the Visitors identified six additional areas of inquiry with which the committee concerned itself: the qualifications of the professors; the educational advantages afforded by the College; the internal organization of the College; two areas of public criticism, an unhealthy climate and the lack of centrality; the value of the Board of Governors and Visitors convening at the College during a session; and the communication from the Common Hall of Richmond. Of the erudition and talents of the Professors, the report maintained that the choices of the Visitors defied censure and that the diligence of the Professors and their attention to duty had provoked no complaints. Of the educational advantages of the College, the report stated that the curriculum afforded the student the opportunity to acquire a useful and extensive storehouse of knowledge, that the philosophical apparatus was good, and that the library was augmented annually. Of the internal organization of the College, the report noted that an alteration in the requirement that the Professors be subject to the supervision of the President might be advantageous, the Professors being humiliated without reason or the promise of benefit to the College. Of the frequently voiced criticisms concerning the unhealthy climate and the lack of centrality in the location of the College, the report cited the same statistics as previously noted regarding three deaths in twenty-two years and cited convenient modes of transportation and communication as making distance no longer a barrier to education.

¹"City of Richmond, In Common Council, 1 July 1824," Manuscript, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

In this regard the report mildly censured Thomas Jefferson, noting that the "slightest suggestion from his pen does, and ought to claim the attention and respect of the public..." but may have the effect of injuring the College if his remarks concerning the unhealthy climate and lack of centrality were "passed over in silence." This censure would probably have been less mild, had the committee been cognizant of Jefferson's correspondence with Cabell and the plans these two gentlemen projected for the reported \$100,000 capital of the College. Of the Board convening each year during the time the college was open, the report noted that such attention would enhance the Board's usefulness to the College. Of the communication from the Common Hall of Richmond, the committee did not deem it necessary to recommend the adoption of any resolution.¹ The reasoning of the committee regarding these six areas of inquiry appears to have validity. Were this but true for the stated reason for initiating an inquiry into the state and condition of the College, the enrollment decline for the last two years, and for the factor determined to be the primary reason for the enrollment decline, the enforcement of certain statutes! This Board, it would appear, was not imbued with the wisdom necessary to provide the leadership the College needed and should rightfully have expected from this body at this critical time. Was an enrollment decline really due to the enforcement of allegedly unwise and unpopular statutes; and, if so, why had the Board apparently maintained a posture of inactivity and noninvolvement for a period of three years? If so, why had the Board not challenged the published report of the President for the year 1823 in which he

¹Ibid.

delineated in such a favorable light the state and condition of the College? If so, why had the committee of the Board appointed in 1821 to collect and revise the statutes of the College not completed its task or, failing in its completion, not reported its activities regarding this task to the body in convocation? If so, why had the Board not reinforced, revised, or negated its position regarding these specific statutes at the time their enforcement evidenced possible negative consequences for the institution entrusted to their wisdom, their leadership, their superintending care?

On 31 July 1824, an article published in the Family Visitor attributed the present state of the College in part to the "obnoxious statutes" but principally to the "want of qualifications and attention in the Faculty."¹ In delineating the lack of qualifications and attention, however, the President of the College was the only Faculty member specifically identified; he was portrayed as being more interested in the chase than in attending to his duties as President and Professor in the College, this conduct being identified by the writer as conduct "well calculated to cover her [the College] with disgrace, and to blot forever from our records every vestige of her former greatness."² In commenting on these assertions, the obnoxious statutes and an incompetent faculty, the writer proceeded to analyze the report of the committee appointed by the Visitors, noting a contradictory evaluation of the merits of the Faculty by the committee with no mention of the "exhibitions" of the President of which they could not have been unaware;

¹Family Visitor, 31 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid.

continuing with a discussion of the strengths and deficiencies in the logic of the reasoning projected by the committee, point by point; and concluding with the assertion that the report, though able and satisfactory, "does not assign any adequate cause of the decline of the College."¹ The cause, the writer concluded, lay within the institution itself and would not be obliterated by the abrogation of the obnoxious statutes; for very similar statutes were in force in the most successful and respected institutions in the country, particularly those in the North. The absence of the Greek and Latin languages in the curriculum and the presence of the lecture method and of the elective system, which permitted a student to earn a degree based on a program of study without order and without profit, were the causes of its "prostrate" condition. The writer concluded his analysis with an even more cogent observation:

Its former prosperity might have been owing to the scarcity of literary institutions in our country, rather than....a high degree of intrinsic merit....[without which the] present number [of literary institutions], and the facilities of intercourse between the most distant parts of the United States, render it absolutely impossible for anyone to prosper....[and with which no literary institution] can not long exist, without [this merit] being a matter of notoriety; and parents in this free country, will send their sons for an education, where the best can be obtained, at the least expense, and with the least exposure of their moral principles.²

Many of the writer's observations had a marked validity, but no other evidences of the type of criticism directed to the President have been noted. Was this the kind of leadership the College received from her President?

For a period of time, it would appear, the press was silent on the subject of removal of William and Mary; then on 6 November 1824, a

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

communication from a citizen of Williamsburg was published in the Family Visitor; and a week later, 13 November, a portion of the same communication was published in the New York Observer.¹ The author was hesitant to bring the matter again before the public but was more strongly "induced to present a plain statement of indisputable facts in relation to its internal management...[since] the true cause of...[the College's] decline has only once been touched on, and then in a very cursory and delicate manner."² The author maintained that the severe allegations against the President and Professors were entirely without foundation, these gentlemen being neither incompetent nor inattentive to duty; that the College had functioned too much on the European plan, assuming a background the students did not have; that the Professors had to compete for students, the fees not being paid into a common fund, with pettiness, alienated jealousies, and neglect of the more solid and important branches of education being the consequences of such a system; that the repeal of the statute requiring students to testify against themselves and each other would only hasten the ruin of the College with every attempt of the Professors to maintain or restore order beginning in folly and ending in disgrace; that removal of the College to Richmond was a matter of indifference for the evil was in the institution, not the location; that the Faculty was powerless to remedy the evils, not having the confidence of each other nor of the Visitors; that only the

¹New York Observer, 13 November 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Family Visitor, 6 November 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Visitors had the power to revive it: by introducing a liberal and judicious course of study, by believing in the Professors, by adopting a new code of laws which would enable the Professors to preserve order and to confide in and cooperate with each other, by establishing an Academy "here" to prepare students for the College, by connecting the James and York Rivers at Williamsburg with a canal two miles long, and by letting a spirit of enterprise be awakened; then "the country between Richmond and the Atlantic will fill the walls of William and Mary with students, as soon as the effects of these measures shall be felt by the public."¹

This same communication provided some insight into the fate of Professor Keith and the Department of Languages and of Natural History. In the process of discussing the alienated jealousies and the popularity of courses requiring the least attention from the student and the concomitant neglect of the more important subjects, the author noted the following:

The late Professor of Humanity, (whose department, by the way, was the Latin and Greek languages) a man of great learning and merit, after instructing a class of one individual, nobly resigned his office, rather than hold it as a sinecure. The last session closed with six students—and unless some important change is effected in the institution, one Professor after another will probably resign, until² the buildings only remain to remind the spectator that Ilium fuit!²

The minutes of the Society indicating the schedules of lectures and the absence of Professor Keith at the meetings of the Society would seem to give validity to the writer's assertions.

As time for the beginning of the Fall session approached, the Society met, on 20 October 1824, and had the privilege of being told

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

by the President that General Lafayette had announced his intention to visit the College. The Society resolved that "the Faculty would receive him in the large passage and that the President be desired to deliver a suitable address, and to confer on the General the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws."¹ However, no mention was made in the recorded minutes of the commencement of the Fall session, no mention of a published announcement, no mention of a schedule of lectures. The next recorded meeting of the Society was held 29 November 1824, following the meeting of the Convocation on 26 November 1824; and it was at this meeting that the first indication of the crisis in which the Society had been involved for some time was noted in the minutes.

Manuscripts of two resolutions adopted by the Board of Governors and Visitors on the 26th are the only available evidence of the deliberations of the Board on this date. The first resolution resolved "that it is expedient to apply to the Legislature of Virginia to authorize the visitors to change the scite of the College of Wm & Mary; with a view to a more extended diffusion of the benefits of the institution."² The second resolved "that the faculty of the College be instructed to prepare & present to the ensuing General Assembly a memorial for the purpose of procuring the passage of a law in conformity with the foregoing resolution."³ The Society, at its meeting on the 29th, recorded these

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 20 October 1824, 1:163.

²Manuscript, 26 November 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary; "Proceedings of the Society," 29 November 1824, 1:164.

³Manuscript, 26 November 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary; "Proceedings of the Society," 29 November 1824, 1:164.

two resolutions adopted by the Board and then proceeded to adopt a memorial which was signed by the President and Professors, which had the College seal affixed, and which was then forwarded to James M. Garnett, a newly elected member of the Board as of July and a member of the House of Delegates, with the request that he present the memorial to the Legislature. The memorial requested the Legislature to pass a law authorizing the Visitors to change the site of the College of William and Mary "with a view to a more extended diffusion of the benefits of the institution."¹

The Board, it would appear, had rather quietly acquiesced to the recommendation made by President Smith in July that the College be removed to Richmond. Of what value had been the inquiry of the Board into the state and condition of the College? There was no basis to be found in the report of the committee for a recommendation for removal. For what purpose had the task been undertaken at all? It would appear that the leadership of the College had abdicated their roles; the exercise of leadership in behalf of the College on the part of the President, of the Society, and of the Board was, in reality, nonexistent. If the Board accepted its own report, what possible reasons could substantiate their recommendation for removal? Had their inquiry merely been an exercise in futility and their decision to convene again in November merely a strategy of appeasement, a pretense? In Jefferson's letter to Cabell on the 11th of May is noted a dichotomy of which members of the Board of Governors and Visitors must have been aware. The subject of

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 29 November 1824, 1:165-166; "Petition of the Visitors and Professors of William and Mary College." William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

removal, Jefferson had noted, admitted important issues which required serious consideration; but he was inclined to view the subject with hope rather than with dismay:

...I have never doubted the lawful authority of the legislature over the college, as being a public institution and endowed from the public property, by public agents for that function, and for public purposes. Some have doubted this authority without a relinquishment of what they call a vested right by the body corporate. But as their voluntary relinquishment is a circumstance of the case, it is relieved from that doubt.¹

Surely the Board of Governors and Visitors was not unaware of this dichotomy. Had they not, in adopting the resolution for removal on the 26th, essentially given up their birthright, their heritage? Perhaps Jefferson who had been delineated by most writers on this subject as being a somewhat less than loyal alumnus of William and Mary, his alma mater, was more loyal than some of her sons specifically charged with providing the leadership needed to ensure her welfare and continued prosperity. Jefferson had followed his observation concerning the authority of the Legislature with these comments:

I certainly never wished that my venerable alma mater should be disturbed. I considered it as an actual possession of that ancient and earliest settlement of our forefathers, and was disposed to see it yielded as a courtesy, rather than taken as a right.² They, however, are free to renounce a benefit, and we to receive it.

It would appear that the President and Faculty, in recommending removal, at least did not act under pretense; or did they? Jefferson, addressing this point in his letter, had insisted that they were insincere even in suggesting removal; and he maintained that the College would not be removed from Williamsburg; the Visitors, he had stated,

¹Jefferson to Cabell, 16 May 1824. Washington, Writings of Jefferson, 7:350.

²Ibid.

would not concur with the Society in this decision:

Richmond is doubtless in earnest, but that the visitors should concur is impossible. The professors are the prime-movers, and do not mean exactly what they propose. They hold up this raw-head and bloody bones in terrorem to us, to force us to receive them into our institution. Men who have degraded and foundered the vessel whose helm was entrusted to them, want now to force their incompetence on us....When they find that their feint gives us no alarm, they will retract, will recall their grammar school; make their college useful as a sectional school of preparation for the University, and teach the languages, surveying, navigation, plane trigonometry, and such other elements of science as will be useful to many whose views do not call for a university education.¹

Whether the Society was insincere or not, the Board did concur; and the Society did petition for authority for removal. In this Jefferson had been mistaken, but Jefferson and Cabell had remained passive and waited. In this perhaps he had not been mistaken:

Shall the college of William and Mary be removed?...their abandonment is voluntary,....On this...question I think we should be absolutely silent and passive, taking no part in it until the old institution is loosened from its foundation and fairly placed on its wheels....then put in our claim to its reception....Their funds...would certainly be acceptable and salutary to us. But not with the incubus of their faculty.²

Others, too, it would appear, had remained passive and waited; for surely the citizens of Williamsburg had been aware of the deliberations of the two bodies who provided leadership for the venerable institution in their midst; and undoubtedly they were aware of the varying views concerning the institution as represented in the press. They, too, apparently assumed that concurrence of the Board of Governors and Visitors with the Society's recommendation for removal of the College to Richmond was impossible; and in this, they too had been mistaken. However, their passivity was of short duration once the Board of Governors

¹Ibid., p. 354.

²Ibid., pp. 353-354.

and Visitors had convened on 26 November and once they became cognizant of the resolution adopted by this body. The Board may have acquiesced to the recommendation of the Society, but they were not so willing to acquiesce to the resolution of the Board; they were not so willing to witness the College's removal. It would appear that in reality the College was not without leadership; rather the leadership needed to ensure its survival and well-being was being exercised by a body which had always existed as an intimate part of its very fabric but a body not specifically charged with responsibility for its welfare, its survival, its continued prosperity. How very fortunate the College was indeed; for it had been abandoned by its President, by its Faculty, and by its Board, at least as a corporate entity. No single entity charged with providing leadership was functioning in this capacity if the leadership needed was that which would ensure her survival and her continued prosperity in Williamsburg and possibly her survival at all.

On Saturday evening, the 4th of December 1824, the citizens of Williamsburg, by previous notice, assembled at the Court House for one purpose: to consider the resolution of the Governors and Visitors of William and Mary College of 26 November recommending the College's removal. The mayor, Thomas Coleman, presided; Leonard Henley was appointed secretary; and four citizens—Robert McCandlish, Samuel S. Griffin, Richard Coke, jr., and William Waller—were appointed a committee to draft a memorial and remonstrance expressing the views of the citizens of Williamsburg on the subject of the removal of the College.¹ On the

¹"Memorial and Remonstrance of the Citizens of Williamsburg," p. <1>. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

9th of December, the citizens again assembled to hear the report of the committee, as presented by the chairman, Robert McCandlish. In its report the committee sought the rejection of the petition of the faculty of William and Mary by the Legislature, and the citizens assembled adopted the report as being expressive of the sense of the city. The citizens further resolved that the senator and the representatives from the district be instructed to vote against the petition of the faculty; that the memorial and resolutions be sent to the member from Williamsburg with directions that he present the remonstrance to the General Assembly on their behalf; that Richard Coke, junr., William Waller, Robert Anderson, Robert P. Waller, Thomas G. Peachy, John B. Peachy, and Jessee Cole be appointed to collect testimony to support the charges in the memorial; and that Robert McCandlish and Richard Coke, jun., be appointed to represent the city before the Committee of Schools and Colleges on the subject of the College's removal.¹

It is learned from this report that fourteen of the nineteen qualified members of the Board were present at the meeting on the 26th; that eight members voted for the resolution for removal, four of whom were newly appointed in July and three of whom were residents of Richmond; that one new member and five old members, acquainted with the institution, voted against removal.² It is clear that not all of the Board members were lacking in loyalty to the College nor delinquent, perhaps, in the exercise of their leadership responsibilities. But, where were the other five members? Why were they not present for such a

¹Ibid., pp. <1>, 5.

²Ibid., p. 3.

meeting? Why were they willing to accept membership but apparently unwilling to accept the responsibilities of leadership this membership represented?

One of the arguments presented in the citizens' report concerned enrollments. The report detailed enrollments at the College since 1786 and stated the following conviction regarding the present enrollment decline:

...the present diminished number of students is owing to an opinion ...avowed by the President, and some of the professors, and hitherto most industriously circulated by the former, that the College could not flourish at Williamsburg: an opinion founded...in prejudice, and...a desire for change....This opinion, combined with a hope of increasing the fees of the professors by a change of site, has been circulated with augmented assiduity, and has for more than a year induced a belief, that the city of Richmond would be more favorable to the views of the professors...inclined to a change.¹

This places responsibility for the current crisis squarely on the shoulders of the Professors, particularly the President. The report further argued that the College had enjoyed her full share of public patronage during the past ten years, noting that

...it appears...singular, why so much anxiety should be discovered for the removal of the College at this particular period, when the institution has hitherto suffered temporary depression and has again revived, knowing as we do,...the College,...has [recently] flourished beyond all former example, in spite of the many obstacles presented to its prosperity.²

Among the obstacles identified is confirmation that a power struggle did exist between the two bodies charged with leadership responsibilities, the Board and the Society; that petty controversy did exist among the members of the Society; and that in fact the Board of Governors and Visitors had not met for three years prior to the meeting

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 4.

held in July 1824. This confirmation places responsibility for the current crisis squarely on the shoulders of both bodies charged with leadership responsibilities for the College, the Board of Governors and Visitors and the Society, and on the President as well. The report's delineation of the leadership experienced by the College during the three years that the Board refrained from holding a meeting was rather vivid:

...the entire management of the institution, for that period, was left to the control of its professors, ever jarring and quarrelling with each other, or to that of its highly censurable president, who, in conjunction with other members of the faculty, to gratify the offended pride of one of their body for a supposed insult, and for causes equally trivial, banished at different times, large numbers of students, with feelings embittered against them, and against the College, and with dispositions¹ to circulate, and to diffuse these impressions wherever they went.

The reference to large numbers of students must relate to the controversy surrounding Professor Hare; and this controversy occurred in the spring of 1818, not during the period 1821 to 1824; however, this was the year that a sharp decline in enrollment, from ninety-two to fifty, occurred; and it is probable that a majority of the forty-five students who signed the remonstrance relating to fees were suspended and that the apology that was subsequently extended to Professor Hare by twenty-nine of the students was not accepted.

Instances of pettiness and strong reactions to trivialities have been noted in the recorded minutes of the Society. Nevertheless, the Board's refusal both to hold its annual meeting and to meet in February while the College was in session as was their custom was an inexcusable abdication of its leadership responsibilities; thus the culpability of

¹Ibid.

the Board in arriving at a determination of responsibility for the current crisis was even greater than that of the Society. As the committee of the Board of Governors and Visitors noted in its report of 17 July 1824, the Professors were directly responsible to the Board:

Each of the professors is selected for his station,...his skill in the sciences,...[and] his high standing in the community. His character and standing, and his pecuniary interest are intimately connected with the faithful discharge of his duty. Where then, the necessity of any other control than that which applies to the president himself....They are all equally responsible to public opinion; and actuated by the same individual interest; an interest identified with the prosperity of the institution. They are moreover directly responsible to the visitors [*italics the author's*].¹

Acceptance of this assignation of power and responsibility made the Board even more culpable than the Society; at least the Society tried to fill its leadership role, misguided though it may have been. It is probable, however, that not all of the members of the Board were equally culpable in the abdication of their leadership responsibilities; for in 1823, at least, some of the members, but not a sufficient number to transact the business of the College, did convene in Williamsburg on 4 July at the time regularly scheduled for the annual meeting of the Board, according to the minutes of the Society on the 8th of July.²

The remonstrance of the citizens of Williamsburg was specifically directed against the resolution of the Visitors who, they maintained, did not have the power, "even if they were unanimous in the opinion, to change the location, without a violation of the charter under which they act,"³ arguing that the law passed by the General

¹Family Visitor, 17 July 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1823, 1:147.

³"Memorial and Remonstrance of the Citizens of Williamsburg," p. 4.

Assembly of the Colony of Virginia in 1693 located the College at its present site; and "being thus erected and established, it was in common and legal contemplation, fixed by the charter 'there to remain in all times coming,' as absolutely and completely as if the charter had designated the location."¹ The citizens at least were cognizant of the dichotomy relating to the power and authority of the Legislature as noted by Jefferson in his letter to Cabell on 16 May. If the Legislature granted the power, the citizens questioned, could the change be made without rescinding the whole Charter? They concluded that "should the Visitors and Governors design to annul the charter, and the President and Professors intend to surrender their rights, interests and powers, let them do so in unequivocal terms."² Their concluding arguments stressed the fact that a more extended diffusion of the benefits of the College, the stated reason for removal in the resolution of the Board of Governors and Visitors, could not be obtained by removal to Richmond; for the newly established University of Virginia and Hampden Sydney could provide education for youths from the western and middle parts of the state; but removal "from the city of Williamsburg [of] its ancient and venerable institution,...[would deprive], in fact, the youth of a large and respectable portion of our State of the means of education...."³

In addition to drafting and adopting a remonstrance against the petition of the Visitors and Professors for the removal of the College,

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

the citizens of Williamsburg, through their committee appointed to collect testimony in support of their remonstrance, addressed a letter dated the 9th of December to President Smith detailing the following request:

The Committee appointed by the Citizens of Williamsburg...desire that you will furnish them with a minute of the proceedings of the faculty of Wm. and Mary College in the following cases. Geo. Rives a student for an affray with Sam Travis late of this City. The Case of Profr. Hare and the Students; the Case of Profr. Rogers & Dabney a Student; the Case of Profr. Jones and President Smith; and a list of the graduates at this Institution as far back as your information extends.¹

President Smith brought the letter before the Society on the same date it was written and received, and three resolutions were adopted by the Society in response to the request of the citizens' committee. First, it was resolved that the request for a list of graduates be complied with as expeditiously as possible; second, it was resolved that the other requests could not be acceded to; and third, it was resolved "that the President write a letter to the Town in conformity with these Resolutions."² The second resolution was supported with the following reasoning:

The Visitors are the regular and constituted Supervisors of the Faculty, and inspect their proceedings accordingly. With the acts in question no dissatisfaction having been expressed by the Convocation it is to be presumed they were satisfied with them; and private transactions long since disposed of & involving much personal feeling cannot now with propriety be made the subject of public discussion without the most weighty Reasons particularly as most of the parties are absent and one of them at least is dead. At the same time the Society have individually no apprehensions from any Investigation of their official Conduct, and to shew that they do not

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 9 December, 1824, 1:166.

²Ibid., pp. 166-177. It should be noted that in numbering the pages in the book of the Society's proceedings, page numbers 167-176 are skipped; hence, the page numbering sequence is 166, 177.

mean to shelter themselves under the secrecy in which their proceedings are necessarily involved, they do further decide that the President proceed to Richmond with the Books and there give every Information which the Committee of Schools and Colleges may require which the said Books will furnish or which may be within the private knowledge of the President.¹

It is noted that in entering into the book of the Society's proceedings the letter addressed to President Smith from the citizens of Williamsburg and the second resolution of the Society denying access to certain of their transactions, the page number sequence is 166 and then 177, an omission of ten numbers; but there is no concomitant omission in the text of the minutes. Was President Smith perhaps a bit nervous?

The other external force which had determined in May that it would assume a posture of passivity and silence had also assumed a different posture upon learning that the Board of Governors and Visitors had adopted a resolution for removal, an action it had previously decided was impossible for that body to take. On 17 December 1824, Cabell wrote to Jefferson that the "hostile party in Richmond and the college aim decidedly at a great institution connected with a medical school."² Jefferson's response to Cabell on 22 December 1824, addressed four specific points: first, the effect of the proposed removal on the University of Virginia; second, the best course to follow regarding William and Mary; third, the disadvantage of the action of the Society and of the Board of Governors and Visitors to the College; and fourth, the disposition to be made of the College's funds in the event the question of removal were decided affirmatively. Of the effect of the proposed

¹Ibid., p. 177.

²Joseph C. Cabell to Thomas Jefferson, 17 December 1824. In Adams, The College of William and Mary, p. 59.

removal on the University of Virginia, Jefferson wrote that the Legislature's response would surely be negative:

The proposition to remove William and Mary College to Richmond with all its present funds, and to add to it a musical [medical?] school, is nothing more nor less than to remove the University also to that place....if both remain, there will not be students enough to make either worthy the men of the first order of science. They must each fall down to the level of our present academies, under the direction of common teachers, and our state of education must stand exactly where it is now. Few of the States have been able to maintain one university, none two. Surely the Legislature, after such an expense incurred for a real university, and just as it is prepared to go into action under hopeful auspices, will not consent to destroy it by this side-wind.¹

Of the best course to follow with regard to William and Mary, Jefferson felt that he was not as good a judge as their colleagues on the spot where they could see the workings of the enemies of the University, "masked and unmasked, and the intrigues of Richmond, which, after failing to obtain it in the first instance, endeavors to steal its location at this late hour....they can best see what measures...[will] counteract these insidious designs."² He recommended that their friends take no active part in and remain silent on the subject of removal and vote silently for or against as they deemed best for the public good; "and if they divide on the question, so much the better perhaps."³

Of the disadvantage the actions of the Society and of the Board of Governors and Visitors had on the College, he wrote that he was glad "the visitors and professors have invoked the interference of the legislature....[for] the acquiescence of both corporations under the authority

¹Th[omas] Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 22 December 1824. Washington, Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 7:383-384.

²Ibid., p. 384.

³Ibid.

of the legislature, removes what might otherwise have been a difficulty with some."¹ It is doubtful that he knew about the remonstrance of the citizens of Williamsburg as yet. Of the disposition of the College's funds in the event the question of removal was decided affirmatively, Jefferson proposed that they recommend dividing the State into ten college districts in such a manner that the existing academies form convenient sites for their colleges and give each district ten thousand of William and Mary's one hundred thousand dollars and give the College's present professors employment in the college in Richmond's district or in Williamsburg's:

Thus, of William and Mary, you will make ten colleges, each as useful as she ever was, leaving one in Williamsburg by itself, placing as good a one within a day's ride of every man in the State, and get our whole scheme of education completely established....Will you not have every member in favor of this proposition, except those who are for gobbling up the whole funds themselves?...This occasion of completing our system of education is a God-send which ought not to pass away neglected. Many may be startled at the first idea. But reflection on the justice and advantage of the measure will produce converts daily and hourly. I certainly would not propose that the University should claim a cent of these funds in competition with the district colleges.²

Jefferson then proposed that they seek from Congress the fifty thousand dollars which the legislature had awarded as a contingent gift for books and apparatus at its last session,³ noting that they should "press for it immediately. I cannot doubt their allowing it, and it would be better to get it from them than to revive the displeasure of

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 386.

³Jefferson to Cabell, 16 May 1824. Washington, Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 7:353.

our own legislature."¹ He also proposed, in anticipation of announcing the opening of the University of Virginia, that Cabell should get their colleagues in the legislature to arrange a convenient day to meet and that he should include Madison, Cocke, and Jefferson himself in the arrangements; but in so doing he cautioned him to be sure that the three professors who were expected had already arrived. The professor of ancient languages was already settled in his apartment, and three were expected to arrive at Norfolk momentarily; however, they had yet to appoint a professor of natural history and a professor of moral philosophy.² These two could have been the two professorships for which Jefferson had earlier suggested they use the six thousand dollars interest they would get from William and Mary's one hundred thousand dollars principal once they claimed its reception;³ but he probably had reference to the two positions, of the ten positions sought by Jefferson, for which adequate funding had not been allocated at that time. It would appear that the Society and the Board of Governors and Visitors had indeed given away William and Mary's birthright, her heritage.

As the year 1824 drew to its close, the subject of removal of the College of William and Mary was a subject before the Legislature but had not been presented for debate as yet. That it was a subject which would probably be "much debated, as there is some excitement and various opinions" was noted in a letter dated 31 December 1824, written by

¹Jefferson to Cabell, 22 December 1824. Washington, Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 7:386.

²Ibid., pp. 386-387.

³Jefferson to Cabell, 16 May 1824. Washington, Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 7:353.

Legislator Z. Jacob to Archibald Woods. Not all of the figures mentioned in Jacob's letter coincided with others noted—a principal of \$60 or \$70 thousand dollars as opposed to \$100,000, a yearly income of six or seven thousand dollars, only eighteen students at the present time, no more than thirty students as an average enrollment. He did note that the library and apparatus were good; and he was much inclined to think the College ought to be removed, for it would do much better at Richmond. His concluding observation was perhaps representative of the views of many other people at that time: "I think it is also well enough to have a Seminary that could in some degree rival the University. It would not only be a spur to the University but it would also give an opportunity to those who might not like the peculiar tenets and Jeffersonianisms of that place, to find another."¹

The crisis milieu into which the College had been propelled in 1824 continued as the year 1825 began; and the removal of the College of William and Mary was, as anticipated by Jacob, one of the subjects much debated among the legislators in January and early February of this year. The Committee of Schools and Colleges, the body charged with collecting and reviewing data relative to the petition for removal, apparently began its formal procedures early in January; and its recommendation together with transcripts of individual testimony and other supporting documents was published in the form of a report for the use

¹Z. Jacob to Col. Archibald Woods, 31 December 1824, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

of the legislators in considering the petition for removal submitted by those entities charged with providing leadership for the College of William and Mary—the President, the Professors, and the Visitors.¹ The position assumed by each of these entities or representative members of each regarding removal of the College can be noted in the report compiled by this committee.

In accordance with the resolution of the Society on 9 December 1824, President Smith had traveled to Richmond early in January with the "Books" of the College for the purpose of providing the Committee of Schools and Colleges with whatever information that body required. The report of his interrogation by this Committee is not dated but probably took place on or about the 12th of January. This assumption is based on two letters both of which bear this date. One of these, a letter written by John Campbell to his brother David, discussed President Smith's appearance before the Committee:

The subject of the removal of William and Mary College has produced a great deal of excitement in the Legislature. They have had Dr. Smith the President a very smart fluent little fellow frequently before the Committee in which he has amused in long harangues large crowds of the Legislature on every branch of human knowledge. The opponents to removal say the College has declined in consequence of Some of his philosophical opinions which he has on various occasions undertaken to defend at great length.²

The other letter was from Richard Morris, Chairman of the Committee of Schools and Colleges, and was addressed to the Society. It was pre-

¹"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges, on the Subject of the Removal of the College of William and Mary," 28 January 1825. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15, Chronological Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²John Campbell to David Campbell, 12 January 1825. John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

sented to this body by President Smith at its first recorded meeting held 15 January 1825. The letter enclosed a resolution which required prompt, specific, and minute answers to five questions; and the demands imposed by these questions must have appeared to be a seemingly formidable task to the Society considering the difficulties the leadership of the College had recently experienced in obtaining a financial accounting covering a relatively recent period in the history of the College:

What part of your funds has been derived from the crown of Great Britain? What part from the Colony and State of Va. and from what private donations? At what time were the different donations made, and upon what terms? How many scholarships are there in the College, and when and how were they founded? Have your funds been preserved entire? If not, how much has been lost, when and how lost?¹

The first four questions were referred to Professor Semple with a request that he provide answers to each of the questions in the form of a report, and the fifth question was referred to the Bursar with a request that he provide a response in a similar form. The report of Professor Semple comprised the next six pages in the minutes of the Society; and apparently the area for which there was the least documentation concerned the question addressed to the portion of the present funds of the College which were derived from the State of Virginia, Professor Semple's report simply stating regret that "a more specific Report cannot be made, for want of some records and Books, to which recourse cannot now be had. As far as practicable the Information called for will be exhibited."² The Bursar's report stated that the Bursar was not prepared to state "with any sort of accuracy, the situa-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 15 January 1825, 1:178-179.

²Ibid., pp. 182-183.

tion of the funds of the College previously to his appointment in Decr. 1819. Since that time I have had the Management of the funds of the Institution....It seems that the funds of the College have increased, rather than diminished in the last five years."¹ He noted that the funds in July 1821 amounted to \$130,270.59 with an acreage of 5,125 in King William County and 1,582 in Sussex County, and the funds in July 1824 amounted to \$132,161.69 with 100 acres in King William County having been sold.² On the same date that these reports were recorded in the minutes, 15 January 1825 (and, according to the minutes, the same date that President Smith presented Morris' letter to the Society), the Society resolved that copies of the two reports be forwarded by the President to Richard Morris, Chairman of the Committee of Schools and Colleges;³ this President Smith apparently decided to expedite in person.

These two documents, along with numerous other documents, were subsequently incorporated into the report compiled for the General Assembly by the Committee of Schools and Colleges, the first two pages of which comprised the Committee's summary review of its observations and deliberations (the College's location, its fortunes, and its present state; the purposes of its creation and the degree of their fulfillment; the counter memorials and testimony; the evolving educational needs of the Commonwealth, the Committee's concomitant obligation, and the manner most appropriate for fulfilling this obligation) together with its

¹Ibid., p. 185.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

recommendation "that the visitors of the College of William and Mary should be authorized to change the site of that institution to a situation more salubrious, to a population more dense, and where the demands for literary instruction are likely to induce into fuller and more complete operation, the large funds of that institution."¹ The recommendation, as submitted by this body, comprised two resolutions:

Resolved, therefore, as the opinion of this committee, That the petition of the president and masters or professors of William and Mary College, praying the passage of a law, to authorise the visitors to change the site of the College of William and Mary, with a view to a more extended diffusion of the benefits of the institution, is reasonable.

Resolved, That the evidence and information obtained by this committee, in relation to the petition of the president, masters and professors of the College of William and Mary, be reported to the House.²

Other documents included in the report were the transcripts of testimony obtained by the Committee from President Smith; from James Semple, Professor of Law; from William B. Taylor; from John B. Seawell, a Visitor of the College; from John J. Wilkins, a student at the College; from John D. McGill; from Richard Booker, identified as a member of the Committee; from Robert Stanard, a Visitor of the College; and from Thomas M. Randolph. Reports and documents other than transcripts of testimony included the annual report of President Smith to the Board of Governors and Visitors, 15 July 1824, (a copy of which was not available among the surviving College records); the report of the Committee of the Visitors appointed 5 July 1824; the proceedings of the Society concerning the remonstrance of the forty-five students and the apology required

¹"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges," p. 2.

²Ibid.

by the Society as recorded in the minutes of 17 February and 5 March 1818; the annual report of President Smith to the Convocation which the Society at its meeting on 8 July 1823, had ordered to be published; the proceedings of the Society as recorded in the minutes on 9 December 1824, concerning the request of the Citizens of Williamsburg for certain data and information pertinent to their remonstrance; the proceedings of the Society as recorded in the minutes on 15 January 1825, concerning the Society's responses to financial questions posed by the Committee's letter of 12 January 1825, and a copy of President Smith's response (not available among surviving College documents) enclosing the financial documents to the Committee; the Memorial from the Citizens of Williamsburg; a Memorial from James City County; a Remonstrance from York County; and the following substitute recommendation offered by a Mr. Jones of York, a member of the Committee, recommending rejection of the petition from the College leadership:

Resolved therefore, as the opinion of this committee, That the memorial of the president and masters, or professors of William and Mary, praying that a law may pass, "to authorise the visitors of the said College, to change the site thereof," be rejected.¹

Additional insight into the affairs of the College and into the leadership experienced by the College during the years 1814-1824, the preceding ten years of President Smith's administration, is provided among the documents incorporated into this report and will be noted at relevant points in portraying the history of the College during the year 1825.

The completed report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges is dated 28 January 1825, and consideration of the College's removal by the

¹Ibid., p. 36.

Legislature began shortly thereafter. A second surviving letter written by John Campbell indicates that President Smith was actively involved in the General Assembly's deliberations concerning the Committee's recommendation for removal. Writing to his brother James on 1 February 1825, Campbell again noted his reaction to President Smith:

Whilst Dr. Smith President of Wm and Mary Colledge is descanting on matters and things in general in the Legislature of Va I seize a pen to reply to your letter which I received on yesterday. The Doctor is learned and intelligent in all the branches of Science but he is too prolix for me. He continues too long on the branches of his subject. Wm and Mary will be removed here I presume. A great excitement has been produced in the Legislature on this subject of removal as you will have seen by the Enquirer.¹

The minutes of the Society on 4 February also indicate that President Smith had been actively involved in the General Assembly's deliberations, noting that he had remained in Richmond after the Committee of Schools and Colleges had completed their work and, at the request of members of the Committee favorable to removal, had appeared before the House of Delegates and delivered an argument in support of their recommendation for removal.²

President Smith was not the only person highly verbal and actively involved during this time in the proceedings concerning removal of the College of William and Mary. Two other persons equally or possibly even more greatly concerned with the subject of removal, Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell, were also actively involved, the primary difference being that President Smith was quite visibly involved whereas the involvement of these two gentlemen was either as a total incognito,

¹John Campbell to James Campbell, 1 February 1825, John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 4 February 1825, 1:186.

as one having assumed a convenient nom de plume, or as one having chosen overt visibility at expedient moments. As the legislative session of 1824-1825 had progressed, as observed by Jacob in late December and by Campbell in mid-January and early February, the subject of removal of the College of William and Mary had been much debated and had created much excitement among the legislators; and during the early days of January while the proceedings of the Committee of Schools and Colleges were in progress, it had soon become evident that the forces favoring removal of the College were strong, so strong, in fact, that by mid-January these two members of the College's alumni, both of whom were extremely opposed to her removal—not because of their intense loyalty to the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg but because of the probable effect her removal would have on the institution which now commanded their loyalties, the soon-to-be-opened University of Virginia, began to set in motion plans devised earlier in this legislative session to avert the success of any Bill recommending removal of the College of William and Mary. On 16 January 1825, Cabell wrote a letter to Jefferson in which he enclosed a printed copy of Jefferson's bill for public instruction in Virginia (first submitted to the Virginia Legislature in 1779) and urged him to draft a bill to be used as a substitute for the one proposing removal of the College of William and Mary to Richmond and to incorporate into the bill his ideas for dividing the state into ten college districts to be strategically placed throughout the state and for dividing William and Mary's one hundred thousand dollars into equal portions to be distributed among these ten districts, giving ten thousand dollars to each. These ideas Jefferson had detailed in his letter

to Cabell on 22 December 1824.¹ In stressing the urgency of the situation and the need for Jefferson's help, Cabell wrote candidly: "You alone can prepare a bill that will enable us to vanquish the host opposed to us....I think the representatives will pause before they give away the rights and interests of their constituents. Great excitement prevails."²

The substitute bill prepared by Jefferson and forwarded to Cabell was characterized by Cabell as one "intended to be offered as a substitute for any [italics the author's] Bill which might be brought forward, at the session of 1824-5, for removing the College of William and Mary to the City of Richmond"³ and was entitled "A Bill for the discontinuance of the College of William and Mary and the establishment of other Colleges in convenient distribution over the State."⁴ Beginning with a preamble which detailed support for the position that the College of William and Mary no longer served the purposes for which it had been established, the Bill proceeded to recommend that the College be discontinued and dissolved and that its resources be distributed among ten colleges to be placed at specifically designated places throughout the state:

...the said College from circumstances of climate or other causes unknown has fallen much into disuse, has generally few students, and no longer answers the purposes of its institution [which were]...for

¹Th:[omas] Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 22 December 1824. Washington, Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 7:386.

²Joseph C. Cabell to Thomas Jefferson, 16 January 1825. In Adams, The College of William and Mary, p. 60.

³Cabell, Letter and Accompanying Documents, p. 29.

⁴Ibid.

the use and benefit of the public towards the education of the youth....

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly that the said College of William and Mary, from and after the 1st day of November in the ensuing year 1826 shall be discontinued and dissolved, and instead thereof, there shall be established a College at, or within one mile, respectively of each of the following places, to wit: at Williamsburg, Hampden Sydney, Lynchburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg, Winchester, Staunton, Fincastle, Louisburg and Clarksburg.¹

The Bill further provided for a specific disposition to be made of the College of William and Mary and of its resources, explicitly identifying one exception: "Saving nevertheless, to all persons any rights in the said foundations or donations which, on the discontinuance of the said College of William and Mary, may be legally devolved on them."² The various foundations, donations, and scholarships of the College had been detailed in the report required of the Society by the Committee of Schools and Colleges and prepared for submission to this body by Professor Semple.³ The College specifically designated in Jefferson's Bill to replace the College of William and Mary was the College of Williamsburg:

To the College of Williamsburg shall be appropriated the buildings now existing of the College of William and Mary, the tract of land whereon they are situated, the library, apparatus, furniture and other appertenances of every kind to the same belonging, and to the same College shall be attached all the foundations and donations for the education of youth heretofore given by private individuals, and now held by said College of William and Mary, with all the trusts and powers respecting the same which may now be lawfully exercised by the authorities of the said College of William and Mary....

The residue of the property, real and personal, in possession or in right or action, now belonging to the said College of William and Mary, after paying the just debts of the said College now due, and its reasonable maintenance until the day of its dissolution, shall

¹Ibid., pp. 29-30.

²Ibid., p. 30.

³"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges," pp. 28-29.

constitute a fund for providing and endowing Colleges, at the places aforesaid, to each of which¹ shall be allotted an equal portion of the said residuary property.

The Bill provided for the salaries and the positions of the Professors of William and Mary by stipulating that their salaries would continue until one or more of the Colleges provided for in the act were opened and that the Professors would continue in their present positions with the College until its discontinuance.² The Bill also provided for Hampden Sydney College an autonomy which had been heretofore accorded William and Mary but which Jefferson believed had been surrendered when both bodies responsible for its leadership petitioned the Legislature for permission to change the site of the College:

...and moreover that if the competent authorities of the present College of Hampden Sydney shall not consent that the same shall become a public institution, subject to the laws, regulations, benefits and responsibilities herein provided for Colleges, then a site shall be selected in the county of Nottoway by the Visitors to be appointed...and to the College there to be erected shall be transferred all the provisions and benefits proposed...to...Hampden Sydney, in like manner as if the said College³ of Nottoway had been herein named instead of that of Hampden Sydney.

This Bill was not introduced to the General Assembly for debate; there was no need for its introduction. Its provisions were incorporated into an article which Cabell published under the pseudonym of "A Friend of Science."⁴ Writing to Jefferson on 3 February 1825, Cabell explained the reason for his course of action: "I saw the gathering

¹Cabell, Letter and Accompanying Documents, p. 31.

²Ibid., p. 33.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 17.

necessity of setting up the colleges against the Richmond party, and it was requisite to show your former plans, and our efforts to sustain them."¹ In an earlier article published under the pseudonym of "A Farmer," Cabell had presented arguments to gain public acceptance of the Legislature's authority over the College, stressing the acquiescence of the College's governing bodies in petitioning the Legislature for authority for removal.² The "Friend of Science" concentrated on division and diffusion, creating a competitive milieu by proposing a division of the available funds of William and Mary among ten college districts, a sum totaling \$155,285.69 exclusive of the library and apparatus, the buildings, and the land on which the buildings had been erected.³ Posing such questions as "What are the advantages of the plan of transferring all the funds of William and Mary to the city of Richmond, compared to the benefits of the scheme of division and diffusion?"⁴ the "Friend" proceeded to project arguments in support of Jefferson's scheme, maintaining throughout that the College was public, not private property and that the proper disposition of its assets was that which rendered the greatest benefit to the Commonwealth as a whole: "Is not the money your own? Does not the corporation of the College of William and Mary exist for us, and not we for the corporation?"⁵

¹Joseph C. Cabell to Thomas Jefferson, 3 February 1825. In Adams, The College of William and Mary, p. 61.

²Cabell, Letter and Accompanying Documents, pp. 9-10.

³Ibid., pp. 13-23.

⁴Ibid., p. 18.

⁵Ibid.

Cabell and Jefferson's scheme was successful. Cabell's political acuity together with Jefferson's plan resulted in the defeat of the proposal for removal of the College of William and Mary. On 7 February 1825, Cabell wrote to Jefferson concerning their success:

I am happy to inform you that our efforts have eventuated in success, and that the college party have been defeated in the House of Delegates by a majority of 24....My friends assure me that the essay under the signature of "A friend of science," with the extracts from your letter and bill, had all the effect I could possibly desire. It broke the ranks of the opposition completely.¹

Cabell did not win his victory, however, without creating much enmity among those favoring passage of the Bill for removal many of whom were members of his own constituency. On 18 March 1825, he wrote a letter addressed "To the People of the Senatorial District composed of the Counties of Albemarle, Amherst, Nelson, Fluvanna, and Goochland" which he had published in 1825 "along with the other papers, in order that my constituents, seeing the whole ground of my conduct and policy, may be enabled to deal out to me, that measure of censure or approbation, to which I, as their representative, may be justly entitled."² He represented the papers and documents incorporated into the publication as being "illustrative and vindictory of the part which I acted and the opinions which I advocated"³ and indicated that he believed his actions "respecting the removal of the College of William and Mary...[and the] Bill for the discontinuance of the College of William and Mary...has been misunderstood to my injury, in some of the Counties of the Dis-

¹Joseph C. Cabell to Thomas Jefferson, 7 February 1825. In Adams, The College of William and Mary, p. 61.

²Cabell, Letter and Accompanying Documents, p. <3>.

³Ibid.

trict...."¹ He defended his actions primarily on the grounds that the character of "such a defence and such an exposition seemed to be demanded by the unwarrantable aspersions thrown out...against those friends of the University of Virginia, who...felt themselves compelled by a sense of duty to resist the proposed removal."² Cabell's letter and the accompanying documents apparently assuaged his constituents at least, for he continued to represent his senatorial district in the Virginia Legislature through the 1829 session of this body.

The defeat or success of the Bill for removal of the College of William and Mary was, of course, important to those charged with the responsibility for providing the leadership necessary to ensure her continued welfare and prosperity; and had their petition for removal been successful, the character of her leadership undoubtedly would have been changed if she had survived at all. It is the view of this author that the actual defeat of the Bill for her removal on the floor of the House of Delegates was not the action of her enemies but rather the action of her friends, for it would have been difficult and probably impossible for the substitute bill drafted by Jefferson to have met with defeat had it been admitted to the floor. Cognizant of the avarice indigenous to all men and of the competitive milieu and the political predicament which Jefferson's substitute bill had created for all members of the Legislature, the true friends of the College had no choice but to withdraw their support for the petition for removal. It would appear that the leadership of the College and the others concerned for

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

her welfare and for her leadership role in the hierarchy of the educational system for Virginia had not, in their present efforts, admitted the possibility of defeat; and they had surely not anticipated the plan devised by Jefferson and politically maneuvered so effectively by Cabell. Neither had they anticipated, it would appear, the political ramifications and the attenuating effects of the act on the part of both bodies charged with the responsibilities of leadership for the College of petitioning the Legislature for an authority assumed by many throughout the Commonwealth to belong to the petitioning bodies.

Where in the educational milieu of Virginia did the reality of defeat of the petition for removal place the College of William and Mary? Undoubtedly the prestige of the College and her ability to successfully compete with the new University had been diminished by the action of her leadership in petitioning the Legislature of the state for the authority assumed by many to be inherently that of the leadership of the College. Undoubtedly her prestige and her ability to successfully compete with the new University had been diminished by the public exposure of the apparent ineffectiveness of her leadership in the management of her affairs and by the inference of failure in fulfilling the purpose of her creation, that of providing an education for the youth of Virginia. Undoubtedly her prestige and her ability to successfully compete with the new University had been diminished by the reality of defeat itself and particularly by the instrument primarily responsible for this defeat, the seed planted in the minds of the citizenry by Jefferson and Cabell's scheme of division and diffusion—a scheme whose ultimate goal involved the dissolution of the College and confiscation of its resources. Could she possibly successfully compete with the idea

that the division and diffusion of her resources alone, expeditiously and politically dispersed, could provide the state with ten colleges each of which could provide for the youth of Virginia an education comparable to that which she had provided or was providing?

The question remains. Why did the leadership of the College—the President, the Professors, the Board of Governors and Visitors—petition the Legislature for authority for removal in the first place? There was no basis for a recommendation for removal to be found in the committee's report adopted by the Board of Governors and Visitors; and, as previously noted, the remonstrance of the Citizens of Williamsburg stated that the passage of the recommendation for removal by the Visitors represented a vote of eight to six with four new members and three Richmond-resident members voting affirmatively, with five old members and one new member voting negatively, and with five old members failing to vote at all; they were absent. Was their absence an extension of the apparent apathy on the part of this body for the past three years? The remonstrance of the Citizens of Williamsburg assigned to President Smith and the Professors primary responsibility for the petition for removal, maintaining that the desire for removal of the College to Richmond was founded on a desire on the part of the President and the Professors for a change with a concomitant hope of increasing the fees of the Professors. The citizens' remonstrance further maintained that the members of the Society, and particularly President Smith, had assiduously circulated for more than a year the rumor that the College could not flourish in Williamsburg and had induced a concomitant belief that Richmond would be more favorable to the views of the Professors of the College. Support, in part, for these assertions is noted in the annual

report of President Smith to the Board of Governors and Visitors on 5 July 1824, a copy of which was not among the available documents of the Board from this meeting nor was it recorded in the minutes of the Society. In recommending removal, President Smith stated that the University of Virginia was "just about to go into operation, [and] cannot but affect us....there is but one possible expedient;...a transfer of the establishment to Richmond....the choice is between a new location on the one hand, and annihilation on the other: an alternative allowing of no deliberation, however unpleasant."¹ In his testimony before the Committee of Schools and Colleges, President Smith responded unequivocally in the affirmative to the question: "Do you believe it absolutely impossible to revive the College at Williamsburg...?" He replied simply: "I am clearly and confidently of the opinion, that it is absolutely impossible for the College to flourish, located as it is."²

The testimony of Professor Semple, who reputedly was the one member of the Society initially opposed to removal but who at some point had acquiesced and signed the petition for removal, required his responding to a similar question: "Contrasting the past condition of the College with the present, is there any thing to lead you to conclude that its fortunes are desperate?" His response was unequivocally negative: "There is nothing in my judgment which ought to lead to the conclusion, that the fortunes of the College, in its present location, are desperate, if it should not be ruined by bringing up again the question

¹"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges," p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 10.

which has been submitted to the Legislature by the visitors."¹ He had earlier noted that for the last ten years the College had flourished "beyond all former example; and when the numerous alumni of that series shall have attained the standing at which they must arrive, we shall have a great many of them filling the highest stations in, and distinguishing themselves among the first men, in our country!"² He maintained that the "agitation of the question of removal, is the cause that at present, there are but twenty students at College" and asserted that the fact that there were "now twenty, ought to satisfy every one, that the College would have been as full as for several years past, if this question had not been agitated, and every proper effort...made to advance the interests of the institution."³ Professor Semple concluded his response with the assertion that "so far from thinking its fortunes desperate, it is believed that it may be rendered eminently useful and may entitle itself to the high commendations of posterity....[and continue] to contribute its full share towards the intellectual improvement of the country"⁴ in spite of the present state of affairs and proceeded to delineate six specific "judicious arrangements" which could be made for the continued welfare and prosperity of the College and the concomitant approbation of the public:

1. The funds of the College may enable the visitors to revive the grammar school;...[its dissolution] contributed much to the injury of the institution. 2. The board can be reduced...[and] be

¹Ibid., p. 14.

²Ibid., pp. 12-13.

³Ibid., p. 13.

⁴Ibid., p. 14.

made as cheap as at almost any other institution in the State. The means are in the power of the visitors, &c. 3. The collegiate course may be terminated on the 10th June, instead of the 4th Julystudents would remain till the end of the course; all pretence for apprehension of danger from climate would be removed....the visitors would not be kept away by the busy season of the year... [and] would be able to see the classes, and the proficiency of the students.... 4. Exclude from the higher classes before a fixed age, and let the students be prepared before they enter College....and be required to pursue a regular course of study to be prescribed to them....5. Take from the president, not his superintending care of the institution, but those prerogatives which make him every thing, and the other professors nothing in the College. 6. Let all the fees to the professors form a stock to be divided among the whole, so as to give to each professor the same immediate interest in the prosperity of all the schools.¹

It should be noted that the fifth point addressed by Professor Semple was later elaborated upon by him to relate to four specific aspects of the College regulations: first, the regulation which permitted the President to be the authority in the eyes of the student in matters of discipline; second, the Convocation's assignation in July 1824 to the President rather than to the Faculty the superintendence of the Bursar's records; third, the Convocation's assignation in July 1817 to the President the responsibility of reporting annually to that body and including in his report an evaluation of the personal and professional conduct of the Professors; and, fourth, the requirement that the President be present at the meetings of the Convocation for the purpose of giving information while the presence of the Professors was permitted only for the purpose of answering for their conduct or for presenting a specific personal concern.² Observations similar to those of Professor Semple had been made in the remonstrance of the citizens of Williamsburg: the flourishing condition of the College during the past ten

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 14-15.

years; the present state of the College; and the effect of the agitation for removal of the College from Williamsburg, noting that it appeared "singular, why so much anxiety should be discovered for the removal of the College at this particular time...."¹ In light of Professor Semple's testimony, it would appear that not all members of the Society were perpetrators of the rumors for change and removal.

The testimony of two members of the Board of Governors and Visitors indicates that a response to questions similar to the ones posed to President Smith and Professor Semple was elicited from them by the Committee of Schools and Colleges. Of Robert Stanard of Richmond the question posed was, "How long have you been a visitor? and did you not go to Williamsburg determined to vote for removal of the College?" His affirmative response implied that he was elected to membership and at the same time requested to attend the meeting of the Board in July 1824, that he had declined the election if his attendance were important at that meeting and had accepted in the event it was not. Apparently his attendance at the meeting in July was not important; but he stated that he had attended the meeting held 26 November 1824, and had gone to Williamsburg determined to vote for removal of the College:

I attended the convocation in November, under strong, and I may say decided impressions, that the College would not flourish while it continued in Williamsburg: and with a determination, if those impressions were not changed, and I did not anticipate that they would, to support a proposition similar to that which was adopted.²

Of John B. Seawell of Gloucester, a member of the Board of Governors and Visitors since 1808, the question was posed, "Do you believe

¹"Memorial and Remonstrance of the Citizens of Williamsburg," p. 4.

²"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges," p. 23.

the affairs of the College to be in a desperate situation?" His response, like that of James Semple, was unequivocally negative:

If by this question I am to understand it as asked whether I consider the College depressed beyond hope of revival, I say, that I do not. It is rather a matter of astonishment to me, that with all the disadvantages under which it labors, in defiance of all the enemies that have assailed it, from within and from without,...it has at this time twenty students.¹

This response evoked the further query, "If not desperate, what measures, in your opinion, would be calculated to restore it to its former condition?" In responding to this question, he enumerated sequentially in the order of importance the measures he would recommend. First, he would reduce the salaries of the professors to the amounts accorded specific professorships prior to 1815 and fixed by statute in 1812 which were in these years as contrasted with the higher salaries established in 1815: Professor of Law and Police, \$500 vs \$750; of Moral Philosophy, \$600 vs \$1750; of Mathematics, \$700 vs \$1250; of Natural Philosophy, \$500 vs \$625; of Chemistry, Natural History and Botany, \$600 vs \$625. Second, he would propose the appointment of a Professor of Humanity, thereby reinstating the Grammar School to furnish scholars for the sciences. Third, he would open a table at the College; employ a steward and a matron; require all students to board at the College unless specifically directed to the contrary by parent or guardian and even then only if no more than the amount to be charged by the College, \$100, were paid; and pay the salaries of the steward and matron as well as those of the Professor of Humanity and his usher from the sum taken from the salaries of the professors. Fourth, he would recommend the

¹Ibid., p. 18.

session end early in June instead of the 4th of July. Fifth, after all the above were accomplished, he would repeal the obnoxious laws; and sixth, he would secure the appointment of a new president and professor to replace the incumbent President Smith:

...a new president and professor in the room of Dr. Smith, who is expected to abandon the College if it is not removed, [should be secured and with] the whole faculty taking warning from experience, and striving together to promote the interest of the institution, it is confidently believed that this College, which... has confessedly done so much for the public good, will again attain a standing, and arrive at a condition, which she never did surpass in her proudest day.¹

On the basis of the testimony of these four persons representing two bodies and one position specifically charged with the responsibilities of leadership for the College and on the basis of the reputed vote of the Board of Governors and Visitors, a body also charged with the responsibility of providing leadership for the College, it is clear that the entities so charged were divided on the subject of removal of the College of William and Mary.

Two additional statements made by President Smith in his annual report to the Convocation on 5 July 1824, and an examination of factors relevant to these statements provide additional insight into the multiplicity of forces impinging on the College's welfare and her survival in Williamsburg and into President Smith's role in determining the nature and direction of these forces. One of these statements concerned the organization of a medical school and the reuniting of "the" theological school in the event of the College's removal to Richmond; and the other, the concluding statement in his report, concerned the resignation of the

¹Ibid., pp. 18-19.

Professor of Humanity. In the first of these statements, he noted that in the event of removal of the College to Richmond:

...a medical school would be organized and attached to the College, and the theological school might be re-united to us....these two classes of students would add nothing to the emoluments of the professors of the arts, but they would give utility, dignity and importance to the institution...and by increasing the reputation of the College, thus augment indirectly our fortunes.¹

A medical school was undoubtedly of paramount interest to President Smith whose educational background was in the field of medicine and whose previous professorships had been held in schools of medicine; and, as he pointed out, a large percentage ("many, if not nearly all") of Virginia youth engaged in the study of medicine would then choose to pursue their studies in their own state, noting that a large proportion of the more than six hundred students enrolled in the medical schools in Philadelphia and Baltimore were Virginians. Accepting these assertions, the following questions must be asked: Why had President Smith not urged the Visitors to establish a medical school much earlier in his administration; had he not been president of the institution for ten years; had he not come to the institution with an assumed expertise in this field; had not the College flourished during these ten years, and would not the proximity of a School of Medicine at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg have been advantageous at all times to the youth of Virginia? And a question even more important perhaps is why could a medical school not be attached to the College in Williamsburg? Why Richmond? Was not a School of Medicine part of the organizational structure of the College since its reorganization in 1779, its

¹Ibid., p. 4.

reorganization as the "University" of William and Mary? Had it taken the incorporation of a School of Medicine in the organizational structure of the new University of Virginia to remind the leadership of the College of William and Mary of this fact?

The other statement in President Smith's report, although it related directly to the currently approved professorships for the College, was also of relevance to "the" theological school which "might be re-united to us"—the "school" which had been abolished at the time of the reorganization of the College in 1779 with the deletion, through the impetus of Jefferson's doctrine of separation of church and state, of the two Chairs of Divinity which had been a part of the College's organizational structure since its inception; the primary impetus for its creation by the Crown of England; and the primary reason for its being the recipient of the Boyle bequest, a bequest whose purpose was converting and educating the "heathen Indians." President Smith's concluding statement simply announced the resignation of the Professor whose attendance has been noted infrequently at the meetings of the Society since his appointment in 1819, namely, Reuel Keith, the Professor of Humanity and Universal History: "In conclusion, it is necessary to state, that since the last convocation [a period of three years,] the professor of humanity, &c has resigned for want of a class."¹ This statement would be accepted as being simply a direct communication concerning the status of the Society and the need for the Board to fill an existing vacancy or to allow a vacancy to exist or to abolish an approved professorship were it not for the testimony of Professor Semple

¹Ibid.

and of John Seawell; for through the testimony of these two gentlemen further evidence is revealed concerning Professor Keith.

Through Professor Semple's testimony it is learned that Professor Keith had resigned his professorship some time during the summer of 1823, his resignation having taken effect at the end of the collegiate year; that he had been employed to teach the higher classics only and history; that his classes had always been small; and that at the time of his resignation, he had had no students.¹ It is also learned through his testimony, in responding to a query pointedly designed to ascertain the name of the Professor of Humanity and History and the inducements which led to his appointment, that Keith was appointed with the supposition that the "number of students would be increased, and upon the expectation that he would discharge his duties with ability."² In addition, in the view of the author, the establishment of the Professorship of Humanity and Universal History and the subsequent appointment of Keith to fill the professorship was the one expedient adopted by the Board and the expedient which failed to which Professor Semple alluded at another point in his testimony in which he delineated the causes for the present state of the College and identified the establishment of the University of Virginia and the Board's unsuccessful efforts to adopt appropriate expedients as being one of the major causes:

...it cannot be unknown that the establishment of the University of Virginia did not accord with the views of William and Mary, and it was foreseen that it would reduce her standing, unless some expedient was adopted, which might give a great impulse to the College. Expedients were adopted, one at least, which, however failed, as it

¹Ibid., p. 16.

²Ibid.

gained her no new useful [useful was inserted by Semple later in amending this testimony] friends and probably alienated some of her former supporters.¹

It will be recalled that Reuel Keith noted in accepting his appointment on 14 February 1820, that he had spoken with a number of the clergy and prominent members of the laity and that they, together with William Meade, Bishop of Virginia, had promised to exert all their influence to turn the current of students from their area to Williamsburg and that Meade had further promised that he and William Wilmer would exert their influence to have the next convention of the church at Williamsburg.

John Seawell's testimony was more complex than that of Professor Semple; for he impugned the motives of President Smith both in selecting Keith and in retaining him, characterizing Keith's professorship to be a sinecure and his selection a means of arresting rumors that Smith inculcated deistical doctrines. He further assigned to President Smith responsibility for the Board not having convened for the past three years, asserting that President Smith knew that Keith would be removed from his professorship at the first meeting of the Visitors. The Board, he noted, had established a Professorship of Humanity and Universal History; but with the employment of Keith, the professorship became a step between the grammar school and the sciences instead of a professorship for the grammar school. Seawell had attended the meeting of the Convocation in July 1823 which did not materialize and had remained at the College, upon realizing that the meeting would not be held, until he could talk with President Smith about Keith's role at the College; he

¹Ibid., pp. 13-14.

had been assured by Smith at that time that Keith would resign.¹

It is important to note at this point certain relevant facts pertaining to the history of the Theological Seminary established in Alexandria, Virginia. One church historian notes that a letter concerning the advisability of establishing a Professorship of Theology at the College of William and Mary was received from John Augustine Smith, President of the College, at a meeting of the Virginia Council of the Episcopal Church in 1815. The letter was referred to the Committee on the State of the Church which subsequently reported that the Bishop and the Standing Committee had been requested to determine a practical mode by which this objective could be accomplished; and this, the historian notes, was the beginning of the movement to found a theological seminary. Six years later, in 1821, a theological class was established at William and Mary with the "Rev. Dr. Keith" as professor; but the class never had more than one student, according to the historian, and ended in 1823.

He further notes that in June 1818, between the time Smith's letter was received and the theological class established, a group of clergymen and laymen from Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria met and founded a society, "The Society for the Education of Pious Young Men for the Ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church," for which the clerical members proceeded to raise funds through the churches in Maryland and Virginia; and by 1822, ten thousand dollars had been raised for a Theological Department. Having realized by this time, however, that the effort had failed at William and Mary to start "anything like" a Theo-

¹Ibid., pp. 20-21.

logical Seminary, another effort was made, this time in Alexandria, by the "Rev. Dr. William H. Wilmer," president of the "Society for Education" since its inception in 1818. Thus, in 1823, the Theological Seminary established its first class in Alexandria; and this class met in the Parish Building of St. Paul's Church, the rectorate held by Wilmer. The class consisted of fourteen young men; and the two professorships were filled by William Wilmer, Professor of Systematic Divinity, Church History, and Ecclesiastical Polity, and by Reuel Keith, Professor of Old and New Testament Biblical Criticism and Evidence. This undertaking reputedly was successful, and the class had a steady increase in the number of students.¹

As noted earlier in this study, President Smith, in his opening address at the College on 7 November 1814, identified the circulation of unfavorable reports regarding doctrines taught at the College as one of the four reasons for the College's decline and proposed the establishment of a Professorship of Divinity as a means of countering such reports, thereby diminishing their negative influence on the College. It would appear, therefore, that President Smith had proceeded in his own way to bring his recommendation to fruition; and the subsequent circulation of similar reports regarding his own teaching no doubt served as an added impetus to the establishment of such a professorship and to his proposal on 1 November 1819, of the "Reverend Dr. Reuel Keith" of Georgetown to fill the Professorship of Humanity and Universal History provided for by the Board of Governors and Visitors at their meeting on 5 July 1819, a professorship suggested in all probability by

¹Goodwin, History of the Theological Seminary, pp. 76-78.

President Smith whose immediate goal probably was to counter the adverse reports regarding his inculcation of deistical doctrines but whose ultimate goal probably was to reestablish the Professorship of Divinity at the College of William and Mary. All of these factors give plausibility to Seawell's assertions and assign to President Smith additional motives for his efforts to remove the College to Richmond, to organize and attach to the College a medical school, and to reunite to the College "the" theological school, the fledgling theological school at Alexandria having been in operation less than a year at the time Smith recommended removal and the establishment of a medical school undoubtedly having been of primary interest to President Smith for some time considering his medical background and his previous teaching experience.

The testimony of John Seawell impugned the motives of President Smith in other respects as well and assigned to him major responsibility for initiation of the petition for removal and for the current crisis at the College. Seawell prefaced his testimony with the statement that with but few exceptions, the acts of the Convocation since Smith became President had either been suggested by President Smith or had been of a character that met with his approval:

Dr. Smith brought with him his system for the government of the College, he manifested the greatest zeal to promote its interest, and a disposition appeared pretty general among the visitors, to gratify him in every thing he desired or thought necessary to ensure success. Under the influence of this disposition, the acts of the convocation from that day to this, with but few exceptions have either been suggested by Dr. Smith, or such as he approved.¹

He identified President Smith's manner of enforcing a statute, one which had been requested by Smith and approved by the Board and which was

¹"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges," p. 17.

designed to strengthen the arm of the Society in disciplinary matters through a clear statement of the honor code, as the primary cause of the current crisis. The details given by Seawell to support his statement provide a clue to the reasons which prompted the Board's resolution of 15 July 1817: "Resolved that the President of the College has no authority to inflict any punishment upon or dismiss any student from this College unless by the sentence of the Society regularly pronounced."¹ He maintained that President Smith, in enforcing the statute, had dismissed young men from the College "without trial, without permitting them to be heard in their defense....[and that] from this sentence there...[had been] no appeal. And at roll-call, the... professors [unaware of the student's dismissal]... continued, day after day, to mark 'absent'...the youth thus dismissed."² He further maintained that in spite of the action of the Visitors, once they had become aware of the President's manner of enforcing the statute, it had been "impossible to arrest the evils which have grown out of it. It was, and long continued to be, a fruitful source of disorder among the young men."³ The subsequent suspensions and expulsions of students by a vote of the Society, following the passage of the Board's resolution, were so numerous that the President came to be viewed "as high-minded and arbitrary, tyrannical in his disposition, and inclined to magnify frivolity and indiscretion into crime."⁴

¹Manuscript, 15 July 1817, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 49, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges," p. 17.

³Ibid. .

⁴Ibid., p. 18.

The repeated assertions of President Smith over a period of years "at divers times and to divers persons, that the College was in a declining state, [and] must come to nothing" and the increased frequency of these assertions following the initiation of the subject of removal, with the added declaration that "unless it was removed, he would abandon it, he being determined not to die with it," were identified by Seawell as being detrimental to the welfare of the College and "industriously circulated [by Smith], with a view of depressing the College and furthering its removal."¹ Seawell also maintained that President Smith entertained an attitude of hostility to the University of Virginia and that this attitude played a dominant role in his efforts to remove the College from its present site:

...I must state, that every thing I have heard from Dr. Smith in relation to the University, has savoured of hostility to that institution. That he considered the friends of that institution the enemies of William and Mary College, has been in like manner evincedI recollect, that upon a recent occasion, when the subject of removal of the College was before the visitors, Dr. Smith declared, that William and Mary College in its present location, contending with the University, was like a cockboat fighting a seventy-four. And when a resolution authorizing a petition...for authority to remove, had been adopted by the visitors,...Dr. Smith...exultingly said, that this was a move on the chess board which had escaped the eye of Mr. Jefferson, that it had thrown him all a-back, that he never could get over it.²

In spite of the impugning nature of Seawell's testimony regarding President Smith, he refused, in responding to questioning, to impugn the motives of the Visitors in petitioning for removal and stated that they were induced by President Smith's hostility and by a desire to gratify the President in his attitude in adopting the resolution for

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 19-20.

removal. He did assert, however, that at the meeting of the Board in November 1824, a procedure for addressing questions which were designed to exact information from President Smith which "would have shewn to the satisfaction of the visitors, that the depressed state of the College was attributable to causes within their [the Society's] control, and that it could flourish in no situation, under the superintendence of the same president and professors"¹ and which would have resulted in a reconsideration of the vote for removal was aborted by members of the Board favoring removal of the College. The questioning procedure, however, had continued long enough to elicit from President Smith the admission that he had made, to a few friends whom he thought he could trust, the statement that the College was in a declining state and must come to nothing as well as the statement that unless the College was removed he would abandon it, being determined not to die with it. The procedure had been aborted by members favoring removal before a response to a third query, one concerning the validity of assertions that President Smith recently had discouraged parents and guardians from sending their children and wards to William and Mary, could be elicited from him.²

It is unfortunate that those charged with providing leadership for the College were apparently unable to work together and to direct their energies toward providing for her welfare and prosperity. The Board apparently succumbed to the didactic personality of President Smith to the extent that for a period of three years this body chose to

¹Ibid., p. 21.

²Ibid.

remove itself from its duly assigned responsibilities instead of choosing to assume its proper leadership role and instituting such procedures as were necessary for the wholesome governance of the College. This body had not had the courage nor the discipline to examine its own corporate views, to determine the appropriate and necessary expedients, and to ensure their implementation, thereby ensuring the College's continued prosperity. Was not the President subject to the authority of the Board? Were not the Visitors the regular and constituted supervisors of all members of the Society? President Smith must have been a rather strong, perceptive, and persuasive person indeed—desirable qualities of leadership for anyone to possess provided they were appropriately oriented. It would appear that President Smith was a very dominant force in the conduct of all the affairs of the College. It would further appear that he exercised a greater degree of control over the Board of Governors and Visitors than he did over the Society; however, as has been noted, he exerted a leadership influence over this body as well.

Were the President and the Professors in recommending the proposal for removal solely self-oriented, seeking only increased salaries and a new environment? Were their loyalties so inconstant, their views of leadership so irresponsible? In spite of evident pettiness and rivalries, this body had continued to exercise its leadership responsibilities during the period when the Board had apparently refused to exercise a much needed leadership, a leadership and a need of which it could not have been unaware. Once the Board did decide to meet; once the subject of removal, apparently, had incited them and appropriately directed their energies toward fulfilling their leadership responsibil-

ities to the College; once they had appointed a committee to study the present condition of the College; and once this committee had published a report indicative of a basically favorable condition, why did the Board seemingly ignore the results of its study, succumb to the views of the Society, and authorize the President and Professors to petition the legislature for authority for removal?

It is the view of the author that the action of the President and Professors and of the Board of Governors and Visitors in petitioning for removal and the support of this petition by the legislators and others could have been and probably was an attempt to make the College of William and Mary the University of Virginia and represented a compromise of interests among the various forces extant at this time. For some years there had been a move afoot to remove the capital of Virginia from Richmond to Staunton. Failing in its bid to have Staunton chosen by the Rockfish Gap Commission as the site for establishing the new university for Virginia, it is reasonable to assume that a successful maneuver to remove the College of William and Mary, the rightful heir to university status for the educational system for Virginia, could eventuate in a successful maneuver to remove the College and the capital to the western country, the County of Albemarle and the small metropolis of Charlottesville being perhaps a satisfactory compromise for the forces representing the western constituency and the land and the facilities of the university at Charlottesville being a satisfactory compromise for those concerned with the College of William and Mary being the university for Virginia. Failing in a maneuver to remove the capital, the ancient and revered institution could still have inherited the buildings and grounds and other accoutrements into which the state leadership

had invested so much of its time, money, and energy during the past decade. This Jefferson had noted was the primary objective of the President and the Professors in recommending removal in the first place: "Richmond is doubtless in earnest, but...the professors are the prime-movers, and do not mean exactly what they propose. They hold up this raw-head and bloody bones in terrorem to us, to force us to receive them into our institution."¹ Failing in both, the College could have accepted the proposal of the Common Hall in Richmond and have become what Jefferson, Cabell, and an apparent preponderance of the legislators deemed it would—a formidable rival of the new university at Charlottesville. Failing in both a maneuver to remove the capital and a maneuver to inherit the buildings, grounds, and other accoutrements of the university site at Charlottesville, another viable alternative would have been for the Board of Governors and Visitors of the College simply to have chosen not to exercise its authority to change the site of the College and to have directed its energies and its political, social, and economic resources, along with those of the President, the Society, the citizens of Williamsburg, the citizens of York and James City Counties, the friends of the College in the Legislature, and the loyal alumni and friends of the College throughout the Commonwealth, toward making the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg a formidable rival to the new university of Virginia.

It is important to note that the petition for removal did not request the Legislature to authorize the Visitors to change the site of the College to Richmond; nor did it identify any other specific locale.

¹Jefferson to Cabell, 16 May 1824. Washington, Writings of Jefferson, 7:354.

Rather the petition of the President and the Professors stated that they "prayed" that the Legislature would pass a law "to authorise the Visitors to change the site of the College of William and Mary, with a view to a more extended diffusion of the benefits of the institution";¹ and the resolution of the Visitors annexed to the memorial incorporated the same language.² This lack of specificity regarding site, had the petition been successful, would have enabled the leadership of the College to pursue their goal, unlimited by the strictures of a specifically approved site, and gives added plausibility to the author's view that the ultimate goal of the College leadership in petitioning removal and of others in encouraging and supporting their action was to ensure for the College of William and Mary her continued rightful role as the University for Virginia and as the institution created and endowed for the purpose of providing an education for her sons.

What apparently had not been anticipated in the entire process was the political and intellectual astuteness of Jefferson and Cabell. The result of the act of petitioning and of its subsequent defeat most certainly diverted the attention of the Legislature away from the University of Virginia and the controversy surrounding the Legislature's having appropriated the major portion of the state's Literary Fund for the past several years to the new university rather than to the elementary schools and/or to the older and established institution which had served the state so faithfully for so many years and which had given both the Commonwealth and the nation so many outstanding leaders to a

¹"Petition of the Visitors and Professors of William and Mary College," <1>.

²Ibid.

closer scrutiny of this ancient and revered institution, to an analysis of the contributions she had made in relation to the contributions she could have made, thereby establishing for all to see, a relationship between what the College of William and Mary had done for the youth of Virginia and what she could have done for the youth of Virginia. The Committee of Schools and Colleges having determined that she had done far less than she could have done and having recommended removal as a desirable expedient for the continued fulfillment of the purpose of her creation, the political acuity of Cabell together with Jefferson's plan of division and diffusion was all that was needed to direct the interests of the legislators to their individual constituencies and to crystallize the idea of the university for Virginia at Charlottesville, an idea into which the state leadership had invested so much time, interest, and economic resources during the past decade, as the university for the state of Virginia, as the apex of the educational system for the Commonwealth, as the heir to the position of eminence in the state's educational system, the birthright of the College of William and Mary.

The University of Virginia opened its doors to students on the 7th of March 1825, one month after Cabell had advised Jefferson of their success in defeating the Bill recommending approval of the petition of the leadership of the College of William and Mary for authority to change the site of the College and almost at the same moment the \$50,000 appropriation for the Library of the University, which Jefferson had decided in December they should seek from the federal government rather than again bringing the issue before the state Legislature at that time,

had been approved by Congress.¹ The University had an initial enrollment of forty students which was augmented from day to day and then from week to week according to Jefferson in his seventh annual report to the President and Directors of the Literary Fund on 7 October 1825; and the enrollment on 30 September 1825 was 116 with a few more matriculations anticipated prior to the close of the term on 15 December 1825. He also included in his report the distribution of the students among the seven schools which were successfully operating in 1825, the University having experienced a delay in securing a professor for the School of Law: Ancient languages, 55 scholars; Modern language, 64; Mathematics, 68; Natural Philosophy, 33; Natural History, 30; Anatomy and Medicine, 20; and Moral Philosophy, 14.² The College of William and Mary had an enrollment of eighteen (or twenty) during the year 1825.³ In light of the crisis milieu extant at the College for the past several months, the fact that there were eighteen students enrolled was a notable achievement for the institution at this time. Even more notable is the fact that in July 1825, the Society awarded three degrees: "The several applicants for Degrees having complied with the Requisites prescribed by the Society, Resolved, that the Degree of A.B. be conferred on Wm. F. Garland and that of Bachelor of Law on Beverley B. Browne and Richmond T. Lacy."⁴

¹Cabell, Letter and Accompanying Documents, p. 4.

²Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, p. 120.

³"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges," pp. 2 and 13.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 4 July 1825, 1:200; Catalogue of the Alumni and Alumnae, 1866-1932, p. 154.

The minutes of the Society and other surviving evidence give insight into the affairs of the College during the remaining months of 1825. On the 4th of February 1825, the Society had met, for the first time since 15 January, and heard President Smith's report on his travels to Richmond. He noted in his report that he had remained in Richmond after the Committee of Schools and Colleges had completed their work, the "Friends of the Removal" having suggested that he appear before the House of Delegates and materially aid their cause by delivering an argument in favor of the measure. Being presented with such an auspicious invitation, he had used the opportunity not only to support the recommendation for removal but also to refute widely circulated erroneous impressions regarding the management of the College and had placed considerable emphasis on the manner in which the "police department" at the College had been administered.¹ He also noted in his report that General LaFayette had paid a visit to Richmond while he was there, and he had taken the opportunity to confer on the General the "Diploma voted to him by the Society in October last."² From this it can be inferred that General LaFayette did not visit the College during the fall of 1824 and that the Society had not had the opportunity to "receive him in the large passage...and to confer on the General the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws."³ The Society accepted and approved the President's report and ordered it to be recorded. They also requested the Professor of Law, now that all the books of the proceedings of the Society were in

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 4 February 1825, 1:186.

²Ibid., p. 187.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 20 October 1824, 1:163.

Williamsburg, to complete the report which he had prepared for submission to the Committee of Schools and Colleges on 15 January 1825.¹

The Society did not meet again until the 14th of February at which time the only recorded business of this body was to establish a regular schedule for meetings: "Resolved that the Faculty shall hold a regular Weekly meeting in the Blue-Room on every Monday at 12 o'clock, and that the several Books of this Society be on the Table at every meeting."² No statement was recorded to indicate that their petition for removal had been denied by the Legislature. As had been true in 1824, the matter which had surely been foremost in their deliberations and of primary concern to the welfare of the College, a petition for authority to change the site of the College, was totally excluded in the recording of their deliberations. Only through records external to the conduct of the affairs of the College is one privy to a very major crisis in the history of this institution. From the recorded minutes of the 14th and of the subsequent meetings of the Society held during 1825, one would infer a normalcy inconsistent with the recent series of events in which the College had been involved.

As in the past, a number of the meetings of the Society were concerned with the financial affairs of the College. All of the recorded business on the 16th of February related to financial affairs: a deed to be executed to Henley Taylor was ordered to be signed, to have the College seal affixed, and to be acknowledged in the Clerk's office; the President was instructed to authorize the Bursar to settle with

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 4 February 1825, 1:187.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 14 February 1825, 1:187.

James Edwards for purchases made; and the Bursar was ordered to pay President Smith forty-five dollars for expenses incurred in conducting the affairs of the College in Richmond.¹ All of the recorded business on the 2nd of July also related to the financial affairs of the College: the Bursar was ordered to retain the sum of \$600.16 out of any income which might come into his hands, this sum representing the balance of his account for his commission on capital negotiated and lands sold; the Bursar was ordered to pay the College carpenter, Thomas Lands, \$349.79; the Bursar's Cash Account from 15 January 1825, was examined and found to be correct; and the vouchers were deposited in the Iron Chest.² On the 8th of July the Society recorded three resolutions relating to financial affairs, one of which related directly to the courses of instruction at the College: first, the Bursar was instructed not to receive any partial payments of principal from any debtor whose debt was well secured except where bargains had been or might be made to that effect in the sale of land; second, the Bursar was instructed to purchase for the College two dozen chairs such as those used in the General-Court Room in Richmond; and third, the Bursar was instructed to pay the Professor of Chemistry \$75 to be used for chemical agents and \$50 to be used to purchase apparatus.³ At an earlier meeting on the 4th of April, the Society had resolved that Roscow Cole be requested to purchase, in accordance with the instructions of the Professor of Chem-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 16 February 1825, 1:188.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 2 July 1825, 1:199.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1825, 1:209.

istry and Natural Philosophy, one concave mirror, one convex mirror, and one barometer.¹

At the meeting of the Society on 31 October 1825, Richardson Henley was appointed College Agent to superintend the Hot-Water Lands and was instructed to secure the best terms possible for use of the land at a commission of ten per cent on all sums collected.² At the following meeting of the Society on 7 November, the Society appointed Fielding Lewis to be the Agent and Representative of the College at the ensuing meeting of the Dismal Swamp Company and authorized him to receive any dividend due the College and to give a receipt for same.³ On November 21st the Society ordered a deed to be made to John and Yancey Mitchell, heirs of Fleming Mitchell, for Lot No. 2 by Foxe's Survey, the same to be conveyed in fee simple with general warranty.⁴ On the 5th of December 1825, four resolutions relating to financial affairs were passed by the Society: Ira M. Powell was appointed Collector of the College Rents in King William County at a commission of ten per cent on all monies collected and accounted for; the Bursar was authorized to compromise with Mrs. John Adams for her dower in certain lands purchased by the Bursar which formerly belonged to her deceased husband; the Society approved the purchases of land made by the Bursar, three acres of land on 11th Street in Richmond and two tracts of land in New Kent County (700 and 52 acres respectively) conveyed in trust to the College by the

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 4 April 1825, 1:191.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 31 October 1825, 1:210.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 7 November 1825, 1:211.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 21 November 1825, 1:212.

late John Adams to secure a debt to the College; and the Bursar was instructed to sell the lands in New Kent County at not less than sixty-five cents per acre for the 700 acre tract and twenty dollars per acre for the 52 acre tract, and he was further instructed to enclose and rent out the lot of three acres recently purchased in Richmond.¹

Another concern of the Society which received consideration and which was duly recorded at their meetings was the inspection and repair of the College buildings and appurtenances. At its meeting on 21 February 1825, the Society resolved that the College Carpenter be requested to "examine minutely" the condition of the several College buildings and to report what repairs were required and the probable cost of the needed repairs.² At this same meeting the President noted that he was entitled to a garden and a gardener according to the regulations of the Board of Governors and Visitors; and the present gardener, Ned, was no longer competent to do this task. The Society authorized him to hire such additional labor as was necessary to aid the present gardener.³ Meeting again on the 28th of February, the Society received the report concerning needed repairs at the College and ordered it "to lie upon the Table."⁴ The matter was not acted upon until the meeting held the 14th of March at which time the Society resolved that the College Carpenter be requested to begin as early as practicable such repairs as were deemed to be requisite for the College's immediate preservation. It was

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 5 December 1825, 1:213.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 21 February 1825, 1:188.

³Ibid., p. 189.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 28 February 1825, 1:189-190.

further resolved that one fourth of the rent of the Brafferton be appropriated to repairs for that building and that the current occupant indicate those repairs which he deemed to be most necessary. A third resolution provided for the repair of the palings and the gates in the front of the College.¹ Repairs to the College progressed, one would assume; for no further mention was made of such considerations until the 22nd of June at which time the Society met and resolved that a cart and horse be hired and dispatched immediately to obtain the charcoal needed by the mechanic who had just arrived from Richmond to fix the tin on the roof of the College.²

No further mention of repairs to the College was made in the recorded minutes for 1825; however, resolutions relating to other aspects of caring for the physical needs of the College were considered. At a meeting held the 27th of July [June?], the Society resolved that "Cattle shall not be turned into the Inclosure before or in the rear of the College at night."³ At this same meeting the Society also agreed that "the weeds in the back yard of the College be removed, that the passages and Rooms in the College be cleaned—and that the president be requested to procure at the expense of the College Labour necessary for these purposes."⁴ This meeting was probably held 27 June instead of 27 July; the next recorded meeting immediately follows and is dated 4 July 1825. The Society undoubtedly had many concerns and pressures at this time.

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 11 March 1825, 1:190.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 22 June 1825, 1:198.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 27 July [June?] 1825, 1:198.

⁴Ibid., p. 199.

At least two of the meetings of the Society in 1825 were held apparently simply for the purpose of conforming with their resolution of 14 February 1825: to hold weekly meetings every Monday at twelve o'clock; for the proceedings of 21 March and 28 March both state that there was no business before the Faculty, and the Society adjourned.¹ At the meeting of the Society on the 7th of March, several resolutions were proposed for consideration but were withdrawn, and the Society adjourned; none of the resolutions were recorded.² As noted previously, the University of Virginia opened its doors to students on the 7th of March. On the 4th of April the Society resolved that "the Secretary be requested to make an Index to the proceedings of the Society contained in this book."³ No evidence that this was ever done has been noted. The only recorded business on the 11th of April was the Society's exercise of its right of franchise by giving the College vote to F. Pierce and Bennet Kirby as representatives of James City County. On the 18th of April the Society agreed to suspend its weekly meetings until the 2nd of May because of the necessary absence of the Professor of Law;⁴ the next recorded meeting, however, was held on the 9th of May at which time the supplemental report requested of Professor Semple on 4 February was accepted and recorded.⁵ The report, dated 19 April 1825, was essentially the same as the earlier report prepared by Professor Semple; he

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 21 March 1825, 1:190-191; 28 March 1825, 1:191.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 7 March 1825, 1:190.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 4 April 1825, 1:191.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 18 April 1825, 1:192.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 9 May 1825, 1:192-197.

noted at the beginning of this report that he had examined every entry in the books of the Convocation, in the Proceedings of the Society, and in the Bursar's Books of Accounts and "it seemed unreasonable to expect so much of the Bursar without compensation....Hence it was deemed to report as fully as could be done and hereafter to supply what might be wanting when the necessary Information should be obtained."¹ He concluded his report by stating that he could not pledge the correctness of the statements made but had misstated nothing intentionally and had taken great pains to be as correct as he could; however, he concluded that he did not "even presume to hope that in wading thro' a mass of indigested materials he has not presented many incorrect Views."²

Eight meetings of the Society related entirely or in part to the students. On the 21st of February, the February examinations apparently having just ended, the Society expressed concerns regarding attendance at the public examinations and resolved that in the future it would be the duty of the students as well as the Professors to attend these examinations, and it would be the duty of the examining Professor to call a general roll from the Matriculation Book, noting absentees. After all, the purpose of the examinations was to exhibit attainments, thereby exciting "the Diligent...to a proper love of literary distinction" and stimulating "the Indolent...to greater exertions."³ The only recorded business on the 23rd of May was a resolution that in the future "no meetings of the students of any kind be permitted in the College

¹Ibid., pp. 192-193.

²Ibid., p. 197.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 21 February 1825, 1:188-189.

after Candle-light";¹ and on the 13th of June, the only recorded business was a resolution that a student who desires to quit College at any time during the session must have the consent of the Society.² At meetings of the Society held between 28 November and 19 December, the Professors reported absentees during each week: on 28 November, the Professors reported no absentees from their lectures (there was no other business recorded);³ on 5 December, no absences except two from the law lectures by permission;⁴ on 12 December, none except Robert Garrett⁵ who was absent from the College on Saturday;⁶ and on 19 December, it was recorded that it "appeared Mr. Garrett was absent from the Lectures last week on account of sickness....there were no absences during this week."⁷ One would assume that a problem regarding excessive unexcused absences had arisen early in the Fall session.

On 18 April 1825, at the beginning of Professor Semple's absence to attend to judicial duties, the Society agreed to confer the Bachelor of Law degree on Lacy and Browne upon receipt and approval of their dissertations;⁸ and, as noted previously, the Society agreed to confer degrees on these two gentlemen on 4 July 1825, and at the same time

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 23 May 1825, 1:197.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 13 June 1825, 1:198.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 28 November 1825, 1:212.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 5 December 1825, 1:212-213.

⁵A Provisional List, p. 18.

⁶"Proceedings of the Society," 12 December 1825, 1:214.

⁷"Proceedings of the Society," 19 December 1825, 1:214.

⁸"Proceedings of the Society," 18 April 1825, 1:192.

agreed to confer the Bachelor of Arts degree on William Garland.¹ No mention is made at any point during 1825 of evaluating the students and sending a report to their parents or guardians. It will be recalled that no mention of such an evaluation was included in the recorded proceedings of the Society following the July 1824 examinations although such an evaluation and report had been determined for each student following the February 1824 examinations. A statement in the report of President Smith to the Board of Governors and Visitors on 5 July 1824, and a statement in the testimony of Professor Semple, both of which were incorporated into the report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges, give insight into the reasons for the apparent discontinuance of these evaluation reports. President Smith noted in his report that although there were thirty-five matriculations in 1824, a still smaller number had remained until the close of the session; for "at the examination these were reduced to eight."² This confirms the assumption that there were students to be evaluated at the end of the spring session and would indicate that a number of students, as in the past, had left the College prior to the July examinations; for, as previously noted, thirty students had received evaluations following the February examinations. Professor Semple's eighth point in responding to the Committee's first question, the causes for apparent decline of the College, addressed the practice of evaluating the students and sending a report to the parents or guardians:

The practice after the public examination of sending circular letters to parents and guardians, giving them information of the

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 4 July 1825, 1:200.

²"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges," p. 3.

conduct of their sons and wards, and the progress made in their studies. Those who received bad letters, were embittered in many instances against the College, and most of them went away with feelings very unfavorable to the institution. This practice is now abandoned, either from a conviction of its inutility, or of its mischievous effects [*italics the author's*].¹

This statement explains the absence of evaluations in the Society's proceedings in July 1824 and in the year 1825.

The Society, it would appear, was assuming its assigned leadership role, but the proceedings communicate an air of resignation rather than one of creative enthusiasm. The other body with assigned leadership responsibilities had assumed a more aggressive and a more responsible posture, and details of its proceedings and deliberations are available through surviving manuscripts and through the recorded minutes of the Society. Prior to the convening of this body for its annual meeting in July 1825, a group which had seemingly assumed leadership responsibilities for the survival of the College in Williamsburg, the citizens of Williamsburg, met and drafted a resolution which commanded the attention of the Board of Governors and Visitors:

At a meeting of the citizens of Williamsburg, held at the Court House of said city, on Saturday evening of the 2^d of July 1825, Thomas Coleman, Mayor of the city, being called to the chair, and Robert Anderson appointed secretary, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Whereas the meetings of the visitors of W^m & Mary College, in which the citizens of Williamsburg, and the whole community, have a deep, and lasting interest, have been heretofore held in private—and whereas, in accordance with the principles of our free institutions, the people have a right to be present at all assemblages of public bodies who meet to examine, and discuss, subjects relating to the general welfare—

Resolved that this expression of sentiment on the part of the citizens of Williamsburg be communicated to the visitors of William & Mary College.

¹Ibid., p. 13.

Resolved, that the citizens of Williamsburg recommend, and they do hereby respectfully recommend, that the visitors of William and Mary College, hold their future meetings in such apartment of the College, and in such a manner, as to afford them, and their fellow citizens in general, an opportunity to be present at their deliberations.

Resolved, that Robert M^CCandlish, and Robert Anderson, be a committee to present the foregoing to the board of visitors of William and Mary College, and to receive their decision thereon.¹

A letter dated 4 July 1825, addressed to the Visitors and signed by McCandlish and Anderson enclosed copies of the citizens' resolutions and requested an early response.² The Board of Governors and Visitors responded on the 5th of July. One surviving manuscript simply indicated that the proceedings of the Convocation had never been privy to others and were for those assigned as being necessary to the convenient transaction and dispatch of business for the College. The other, and undoubtedly the response given to the citizens of Williamsburg, stated that the object of their request, a change in the scene and manner of transacting the business of the convocation, forbade acquiescence in considering their application. The response further noted that few persons had witnessed their deliberations in the past because few had made such a request, that a request to witness their deliberations was and would remain subject to a special vote at the time of a given request, that a memorial addressed to the Board would be the most appropriate avenue to pursue for those wishing to promote the welfare of the College or wishing to suggest any plan or proposition for promoting the

¹Manuscript, 2 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ro:[bert] McCandlish and Ro:[bert] Anderson to The Visitors of William & Mary College, 4 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

prosperity of the College, and concluded that "it is inexpedient to grant the application made on behalf of the citizens of Williamsburg...."¹

The proceedings of the Society and the proceedings of the Board seem to intertwine during the period 4 July through 8 July, and the proceedings of both reflect recommendations and concerns expressed by both Professor Semple and John Seawell in their testimony before the Committee of Schools and Colleges. They also reflect, in part, the predictions made by Jefferson in his letter to Cabell on 16 May 1824:

...they will recall their grammar school, make their college useful as a sectional school of preparation for the University, and teach the languages, surveying, navigation, plane trigonometry, and such other elements of science as will be useful to many whose views do not call for a university education.²

The Society met on the 4th of July and passed a resolution recommending that the Convocation establish a Grammar school in the College; the Society further recommended that "if the Income of the College be not sufficient for that purpose, without reducing the salaries of the President and Professors, it is recommended to the Visitors [to reduce] the said salaries proportionately for the purpose of establishing the said school."³ On the 6th of July the Society again met; and President Smith "laid before the Society" a letter from John Tyler, chairman of a committee appointed by the Board at its meeting on the 5th, indicating the

¹Manuscripts, 5 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Th:omas] Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, 16 May 1824. Washington, Writings of Jefferson, 7:354.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 4 July 1825, 1:199-200; Manuscript, July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Board's "desire and readiness" to receive in writing any information or suggestions from the Society calculated to promote the interests or prosperity of the College and stating that the Committee would be ready to receive any such communications as early tomorrow morning (the sixth) as accorded with the convenience of the Society; they would be in session in the room set apart for the Visitors by "half after 8 oclk."¹ It should be noted that the committee deemed it expedient to state a reason for its communication to the Society:

This disposition of the Committee to consult with the Faculty on this deeply interesting subject arising from the condition in which the College is placed, and from the Conviction that Information the best calculated to aid the Committee in its deliberations, is no where to be looked for with more Confidence than to those whose interests are intimately connected with the Institution, and whose anxious desire it must be to advance its prosperity.²

In light of the recent testimony and recommendations of John Seawell whose opinions undoubtedly reflected the sentiments of other members of the Board, in light of the failure of the Board to exercise its leadership responsibilities for the period 1821-1824, and in light of the recent crisis experienced by all members of the College's leadership, a rather strained and tenuous relationship surely existed among these three leadership entities—the President, the Society, and the Board of Governors and Visitors.

The Society recorded in its proceedings five recommendations to the Board of Governors and Visitors, and reflected in these recommendations is a weakening of the dogmatic leadership role enjoyed by Presi-

¹John Tyler, Chairman of the Committee to John Augustine Smith, President, 5 July 1825, "Proceedings of the Society," 6 July 1825, 1:200-201.

²Ibid.

dent Smith since the beginning of his administration:

...the Convocation...provide by Law for the Establishment of a Boarding-house for the Students...to reduce the necessary expenses ...so low as to enable persons of moderate fortune to avail themselves of the Collegiate Education.

...the Expenses attending [the Grammar School, the recommendation having formerly been made for establishing a Grammar School] they advise should be so low as to place it...on equal footing with any other respectable school of the same kind.

...the faculty recommend the Repeal of the Resolution of the Visitors of July 1817...[making it] the duty of the President to report annually...the Conduct of the Professors &c. and instead...[revive] the former Law of the College...by which the Faculty was directed to report upon all the Concerns of the Institution.

...[the Society] respectfully recommend to the Convocation to admit all the Professors to attend their meetings and consultations except on such occasions as the Board shall deem it expedient to exclude them.

...it be respectfully recommended to the Visitors to amend the Statute for the wholesome Government of the College,...to make it the Duty of a Profr...to admonish [an inattentive or idle student],... if his...admonitions do not produce the desired effect, to report him to the Faculty;...[who] shall request the President to write to the parent or Guardian...and desire his aid; and [one] whose habits ... cannot be overcome, be sent home but not until the most patient and persevering Efforts have been made by the College aided by parental Authority to reform him.¹

In responding to the first of these recommendations, the Board of Governors and Visitors established a Table within the College; authorized the Faculty to employ a Steward who with his family would occupy the Brafferton House free of charge, who would have the use of all rooms in the College not otherwise appropriated together with the outhouses appurtenant to the Brafferton and to the College building, who would have laid off for him a garden of sufficient size to furnish the Table with vegetables and to supply the President as well, who would be permitted to obtain a sufficient supply of firewood from College lands

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 6 July 1825, 1:201-202; Manuscript, 6 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 55, Faculty Records, Archives, College of William and Mary.

selected by the Faculty, and who would be permitted to clear and cultivate College lands subjected to cultivation within the last twenty years. The Steward would provide bedding, board, and fire to a student for one hundred dollars and washing and candles for twenty dollars for the course. The Faculty would decide all complaints whether by the students or by the Steward, would remove the Steward and appoint another in the event of gross misconduct, and would assist in the preservation of order and decorum at the Table and within the College.¹ The manuscript of the Board of Governors and Visitors differs from the recording of their decision in the minutes of the Society regarding power to remove the Steward. The manuscript assigns this authority to the Visitors: "If the conduct of the steward shall be highly reprehensible in the opinion of the faculty, they shall report the same to the Visitors who may at thier [sic] discretion for good cause remove the steward and appoint another."²

In responding to the second recommendation of the Society, the establishment of a Grammar School, the Board established a Professorship of Humanity "in this University" at a salary of five hundred dollars and a fee of twenty dollars from each "student or scholar" who may attend his school; and the term of the school year was October 1 through August 1. The Professor was to keep a boarding house and provide board, lodging, fire, washing, and candles for a fee of one hundred dollars for the ten months or any shorter period of time; however, students could,

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1825, 1:202-204; Manuscript, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Manuscript, 6 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

at the request of parents or guardians, board elsewhere provided the rates were the same as those allowed by the College.¹ The Faculty was authorized to fill the professorship subject to the approval or rejection of the Visitors at their next meeting.² They also provided for a "noteable abatement" from the salaries of the President and other Professors in the event the money arising from interests and profits of the funds of the College was not sufficient to pay the salary of this professorship.³

The response of the Board to the third recommendation of the Society, repeal of the resolution passed in July 1817, again favored the Faculty rather than the President: "...in future in place of the Report required of the President...it shall be the duty of the Faculty to report to the Board of Visitors annually the State and condition of the College, and all things concerning the Institution...."⁴ The Board made no specific response to the fourth recommendation of the Society unless it was perhaps incorporated into the rather broad summary statement relating to the repeal of the July 1817 resolution: "...with such amendments, alterations and additions, to the existing Statutes and

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1825, 1:205-207; Manuscript, 6 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1825, 1:207; Manuscript, 6 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1825, 1:207-208; Two Manuscripts, 6 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1825, 1:205-206; Manuscript, 5 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Resolutions as in their opinion may be best calculated to advance the Interest of the Institution."¹ The fifth recommendation regarding dismissal of the students evinced differing perceptions of this problem by members of the Board. The following resolution was offered but was laid on the table:

Resolved that before a young man shall be suspended, expelled, or dismissed from college the President and Professors shall use their utmost endeavors to reclaim him from idleness or improper conduct by a resort to all the means best calculated to effect that object.²

The Board also considered two resolutions from the Faculty regarding the allocation of funds for the purchase of chemical agents. Their deliberations have survived in manuscript and were also recorded in the minutes of the Society; however, no other evidence of the submission of the resolutions or the resolutions themselves is recorded in the Society's proceedings. Apparently the seventy-five dollar allotment allowed Professor Hare had subsequently been given to Professor Rogers. The Board agreed that the chemicals purchased up to that point could be considered to belong to Professor Rogers and that an allocation up to seventy-five dollars for the purchase of chemicals for his lectures would be continued, but in the future an accounting would be rendered by him to the Faculty.³ The resolution recorded by the Society, as noted earlier, directed the Bursar to pay Professor Rogers seventy-five dollars for the purchase of chemical agents to be used in his lectures and

¹Ibid., p. 206; Ibid.

²Manuscript, 5 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1825, 1:204-205; Manuscript, 6 July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

fifty dollars for the purchase of apparatus.

Apparently the final action of the Board was passage of a resolution requesting President Smith to have published the Statutes agreed to by the Board at their meeting, the resolution passed by the Board concerning the annual report to be made by the Faculty, and the address agreed to by the Board on 6 July. The address commended the students who attended the last session, encouraged the tidewater area to support the institution, noted a reduced fee schedule of \$185 for the following year, and outlined six professorships at the College, one of which was vacant—a Professorship of Humanity.¹ According to the address, applications for this position and the position of Steward were to be received on or before the first Monday in September, "on which day the appointments will certainly be made."² With regard to the new professorship the address noted that the Professor of Humanity would teach the languages, "beginning with grammar and embracing the higher classics."³

One additional matter received consideration at the meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors in July 1825. A surviving manuscript indicates that a resolution intended to separate the office of the President from any professorship was proposed at this meeting but "passed in the negative."⁴ This resolution undoubtedly represented a compromise on the part of those who wished to appoint a new President

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 8 July 1825, 1:209.

²Ibid., p. 208.

³Ibid.

⁴Manuscript, July 1825, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

and Professor in the place of President Smith and was designed to encourage President Smith to resign both offices: "Resolved, that under existing circumstances, the office of President of this College ought no longer to be united with a professorship: and it is expedient to separate the same."¹ The passage of this resolution would have represented quite a reduction in salary for President Smith, for he received \$1750 as Professor of Moral Philosophy and \$500 as President. President Smith had made no secret of his interest in increasing the compensation awarded the Professors at William and Mary, and passage of this resolution would have provided the necessary impetus to obtain his resignation. Perhaps the Visitors deemed such a measure to be unnecessary. Although no specific records survive which record such deliberations of the Board at the time Professor Bracken became President, it is apparent from the manner in which he functioned during his tenure as President that with his appointment the office of President was probably separated from any professorship at the College. Both Professor Semple and John Seawell were members of the Board at that time. The actions of the Board at its meeting in July 1825 and the recommendations of the Society make it quite evident that the leadership tactics of President Smith during much of his presidency were viewed as not having been in the best interest of the College and that the intent of both the Society and the Board was to effect changes deemed to be necessary to provide wise leadership and to bring the College to a prosperous state.

In accordance with the published notice regarding the two unfilled positions at the College, the Society met on 5 September (presum-

¹Ibid.

ably the first Monday) and appointed Dabney Browne, an alumnus of the College who was awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1810,¹ as Professor of Humanity² and Edward Walker as Steward. The resolution stating the appointment of Walker as Steward further stated that the College would "allow" him ten dollars for every room occupied by "a Student or Students and the further sum of \$100 towards enclosing the College Farm: which appointment was accepted of by Mr. Walker."³ An announcement of these two appointments and details concerning the schedule of fees and the Table established at the College were published in the Enquirer on 15 September 1825; however, neither the Society's consideration of this address, nor its text, nor the decision of the Society that it be published was recorded in the minutes of the Society until a meeting of this body on the 3rd of April 1826, at which time both the consideration of the address on 5 September 1825, and the published text of the address are noted.⁴

On the basis of the recorded deliberations of the Society on 5 September and on the basis of the schedule of lectures determined by the Society at its meeting on 31 October 1825, one could only surmise that Dabney Browne assumed his responsibilities as Professor of Humanity at the opening of the Fall session. The schedule of lectures did not include lectures in the higher classics but did specifically outline days and times for the other courses: Monday, Wednesday, and Friday—

¹ A Provisional List, p. 9; Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 153.

² A Provisional List, p. 49.

³ "Proceedings of the Society," 5 September 1825, 1:210.

⁴ "Proceedings of the Society," 3 April 1826, 1:222-223.

Senior Moral Class at nine o'clock, Junior Moral Class at eleven o'clock, and the Law Class at ten o'clock; Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday—Chemistry Class at nine o'clock, Natural Philosophy Class at eleven o'clock, Junior Mathematical Class at ten o'clock, and Senior Mathematical Class at twelve o'clock.¹ One could further surmise that scholars were enrolled in the beginning languages at the commencement of the Fall session and that they received instruction from Dabney Browne. The validity of both assumptions is evidenced in an address which was considered at a meeting of the Society on 7 December, which was published in the Enquirer on 13 December, and which was recorded in the minutes of the Society on 19 December 1825:

...at the time the professor was appointed, the proper measures were taken for the accommodation of his department. He provided himself with the means of accommodating the pupils who were directed to live with him; and his school was opened agreeably to the statute on the first of Oct. It consists at present of thirty scholars,* is in full and successful operation and will no doubt furnish from year to year, students to the higher schools, as soon as they shall be prepared to enter them....*The Professor expects a considerable addition at the beginning of next year.²

The address further noted that the "higher schools" had opened at the time prescribed by statute, the last Monday in October, apparently with an enrollment of fourteen students, giving the College a total enrollment of forty-five, "exclusive of two graduates who have chosen to reside in college, and from a laudable love of science, avail themselves still of the benefits of the institution, attending such lectures as they think proper, without paying any fees to the professors."³ The

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 31 October 1825, 1:210-211.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 19 December 1825, 1:214-215.

³Ibid., p. 214.

Steward, it was noted, had furnished the rooms neatly and comfortably, had provided a most satisfactory Table, and was prepared to accommodate as many other young gentlemen "as may be disposed to enter college." This state of the College was viewed by the Society as not being very flattering; but it did show, in their view, that they had not been deficient in the discharge of their duties and that they believed that "in manners, morals, and science, they cannot but think their institution deserves and will obtain that confidence and patronage to which it is entitled."¹

This address was signed by Ferdinand S. Campbell, Secretary of the Society. In the recording of this address in the minutes, President Smith entered and signed an objection to the address, stating two bases for his action. First, he could see "no manner of good" to the institution which would probably result from the address; and second, he could not vote for the address because, in his view, to have done so would have been to censure "the Rector—an officer upon whose Conduct he [Smith] has no right to sit in Judgment."² The address, the action of the Society, and the action of President Smith reflected an apparent breakdown in communications or the existence of an attitude of controversy among the leadership of the College. The Rector had announced "in the publick prints" a meeting of the Convocation which apparently did not materialize. The subsequent action of both the Society and the President was a defensive posture on the part of each. The position of the President was made clear in his recorded objection; the position of

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 215.

the Society was made clear in the opening paragraph of their published address and in the subsequent statements detailing, as noted, the present state of the College:

The Faculty...feel it incumbent upon them to lay the following information respecting the institution before the publick. In the first place they deem it a duty to state, that they had no agency in urging the proposed meeting of the visitors which the Rector believed ought to have been held; but was ignorant that such a meeting was contemplated by the Rector, until it was announced in the publick prints. In the second place, "that altho' they may possess the power," they could not, if they were so disposed, under existing circumstances, renew the petition for the removal of the college, without contravening the wishes of the visitors themselves. This they infer from the fact that at the last visitation there were made, in the statutes and ordinances of the institution, many great and essential alterations, of the efficacy of which it is deemed impossible to judge in so short an interval of time as has elapsed since they were introduced.¹

The only other recorded business of this body in 1825 was a resolution that "all official Letters written by the President and all such Letters received by him be laid before the Society, in order that those which it may be thought desirable to preserve, may be filed."² It would appear that President Smith had been relieved basically of all authority except that which he possessed as a member of the Society, and in this capacity he seemed to be acting alone.

The year 1825 had been a difficult year for the College and for its leadership. Its bid to retain its position as the University for Virginia had met with defeat, and a new and larger university for Virginia had opened its doors in Charlottesville. The year, however, was not entirely devoid of success for the College or its leadership. The College had retained its physical and economic assets both of which had

¹Ibid., p. 214.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 12 December 1825, 1:214.

been seriously threatened by Jefferson's plan of division and diffusion. Its doors had remained open, and it had continued to function as an educational institution. The Board had resumed a strong, even aggressive, leadership role; and the Society had regained a stronger leadership posture. Only President Smith, it would appear, had experienced a loss of power and a reversal in his leadership posture, a reversal that was likely to continue in 1826.

The minutes of the Society are the primary source for evidence relating to the history of the College in 1826; and although the subject of removal was noted in the last recorded minutes of the Society in 1825, no mention of this subject appears in the proceedings of this body during the ensuing year. The subject most frequently recorded, and at many meetings the only recorded business of the Society, was student absences and the reasons for each absence; the reason most frequently noted was sickness. The tedium with which each absence was recorded, with an unexplained absence noted at one meeting being meticulously explained and recorded at the next, evinced a reverse position on the subject of the healthful location of the College. It appeared almost as if the Society were attempting to document an unhealthy climate. This reporting of absence was the only business of the Society at their first meeting on 2 January 1826, and at subsequent meetings held on 30 January, 6 February, 13 February, 6 March, 20 March, and 1 May.¹ Reporting

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 2 January, 30 January, 6 February, 13 February, 6 March, 20 March, 1 May 1826, 1:215, 217-218, 218, 219, 220, 221, 227 respectively.

of absences also comprised a major portion of the recorded business of the Society at fourteen other meetings held between 2 January and 6 July; only four meetings of this body held during this time did not include the recording of absences—meetings held 10 March, 1 July, 3 July, 6 July.¹

The conduct of the financial affairs of the College was, as in the past, on the agenda of several meetings of the Society; and in the conduct of these affairs a changed role for President Smith is noted. At a meeting on 16 January, the Bursar's Cash Account since 2 July 1825, was examined and approved; however, the Vouchers were delivered to the Society, not President Smith, to be deposited in the Iron Chest.² At this same meeting deeds were directed to be executed to Ira M. Powell and Ellett, the former having purchased two tenements consisting of 297 acres for \$1,188 and the latter having purchased one tenement of 147 acres for \$441; both properties were located in King William County.³ At a meeting on 10 March 1826, the Society received \$2,000 from James Semple, to whom the College had transferred William Randolph's bond in this amount, plus \$82.67 in interest. The principal was deposited in the strong box in the care of the President until it could be loaned out, and the interest was distributed among the Professors "in part payment of their salaries."⁴ Three days later, on 13 March, the Society

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 10 March, 1 July, 3 July, 6 July 1826, 1:220-221, 229-240, 240, 241 respectively.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 16 January 1826, 1:216.

³Ibid.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 10 March 1826, 1:220-221.

resolved that the \$2,000 be loaned to "Dr. Jesse Cole on the usual terms under the superintendence of the President and Professor of Law, the Bursar being at present in Richmond."¹ On 21 April the President and Professor of Law reported the conditions under which the loan to Jesse Cole had been negotiated: a security of \$4,000 from T. Galt for payment of the loan on 13 March 1827, and the deed of trust of Cole and his wife on the houses and lots in Williamsburg in which they resided and another in which a tenant resided; the Society approved their actions and deposited the bond in the strong box in the care of the President.²

Three other meetings of the Society were concerned with financial decisions. On 16 May the President presented to the Society a letter from the Bursar which stated that lands in King William County belonging to Mitchell and Ellett were to be sold on the 29th of May for debts due the College; the Society resolved that the Bursar should attend the sales and take such steps as he deemed expedient to ensure the best interests of the College.³ On 3 July the Bursar's account was again examined and approved; and the Professor of Chemistry, in accordance with the resolution of the Visitors, presented his accounting of the \$75 expended for the purchase of chemical agents.⁴ At their meeting on 6 July, upon the application of James Edwards by Herbert A. Claiborne, the Society determined that Edwards' debt as of 25 May 1826,

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 13 March 1826, 1:221.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 21 April 1826, 1:224-225.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 16 May 1826, 1:228.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 3 July 1826, 1:240.

exclusive of the Marshall's commission and other costs was £836; and the Bursar was authorized to deduct £257.14.s. from the aggregate sum and to enforce payment of the balance or to accept Edwards' bond with sufficient security and a deed of trust on real estate of greater value than the debt to ensure payment on demand with interest from 25 May 1826.¹

Other than the exercise of their franchise on 10 April 1826, at which time the Professor of Law was instructed to give the College vote to Pierce and Henley as representatives of James City County and to Clopton as senator for the district,² and the recording in the minutes on 3 April 1826, as previously noted, of the published address of the Society dated 5 September 1825,³ the other recorded considerations of the Society related to instructing and superintending the students and to reporting to the Visitors. On 23 January, the schedule of lectures having been determined to be inconvenient, the Society met and adopted a new schedule: Monday, Wednesday, and Friday—Junior Moral Class at nine o'clock and Law Class at nine o'clock; Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday—Senior Moral Class and Chemistry Class at nine o'clock, Natural Philosophy Class at eleven o'clock, Junior Mathematical Class at eleven-thirty, and Law Class at twelve o'clock.⁴ Three weeks later, in order to accommodate some of the students, the schedule was again changed: Law lectures at ten o'clock (the day not noted); Natural Philosophy lectures at ten o'clock on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; and the weekly

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 6 July 1826, 1:241.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 10 April 1826, 1:224.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 3 April 1826, 1:222-223.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 23 January 1826, 1:216-217.

meetings of the Society on Monday at one o'clock.¹

The scholars enrolled in the Grammar School presented a disciplinary problem in late April by apparently becoming involved in the elections to the extent that six of them absented themselves from school without permission and went to the elections at York. After hearing the students, the Society determined that only two of the young gentlemen had been negligent intentionally in fulfilling their responsibilities to Professor Browne; and these two were placed on probation for a fortnight. At the end of this period, had their demeanor not shown marked improvement, it was determined that the President would request the parents to take the young scholars out of the College.² Fortunately, Professor Browne was able to report on 8 May that "there had been a considerable Amendment in the conduct of Messrs. Christian and Blair during the period allowed them for probation."³ Unfortunately, the College leadership had another problem with which they were unable to cope as successfully in working with their young charges, that of the young gentlemen simply "quitting" College before the end of the session. This was not a new problem and was one of the administrative changes recommended by Professor Semple and by John Seawell in their testimony in January 1825; but it was not one of the recommendations of the Society to the Board of Governors and Visitors in July 1825. According to the minutes, the exodus began in March with one student being noted at the meeting of the Society on 6 March as having left College; one

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 27 February 1826, 1:219.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 24 April 1826, 1:225-226.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 8 May 1826, 1:227.

being noted on the 27th of March; two, on the 3rd of April; all members of the Law Class on the 21st of April ("The Law-Lectures terminated on Friday last, all the members having withdrawn from College"); one being noted on the 29th of May; one, on the 5th of June; and three being noted on the 12th of June.¹ In their annual report the Society noted that "not one [student] remained on the 24th of June: and consequently there was no occasion to fix on a Day for the Examinations and the College as to the higher Schools closed, altho' the Statute requires it to be kept open to the 4th of July."² There is no indication in the minutes of the Society that the examinations usually held in February were held at that time either; it is possible that no examinations were held during 1826. Whether attributable to unwise leadership or to no leadership, the President and the Professors appear to have failed to fulfill their very raison d'etre, that of providing an education for the youth of Virginia—the completion of a course of study, the process of completing an examination, and the earning and subsequent awarding of a degree most certainly being necessary components of the educational process.

The Society, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Visitors in July 1825, and not President Smith, drafted the annual report to be presented to the Board of Governors and Visitors; and at a meeting held 1 July 1826, the Society approved and recorded their annual report, noting in the left margin of the recorded minutes the various

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 6 March, 27 March, 3 April, 21 April, 29 May, 5 June, 12 June 1826, 1:220, 222, 222, 224-225, 228-229, 229, 229 respectively.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1826, 1:239.

divisions within the report.¹ The report was rather comprehensive and included among the matters detailed the enrollment in the higher schools—eighteen matriculations on the College books, plus one young man who prepared privately in mathematics and entered so late that the Society did not require him to matriculate, plus two resident graduates who attended lectures but paid no fees. Also noted was the enrollment in the several classes: Senior Moral Class, eight; Junior Moral Class, five; Senior Mathematical Class, two; Junior Mathematical Class, five; Natural Philosophy Class, seven; Chemical Class, four; and Law Class, eight.² In discussing the weekly meetings held for the purpose of receiving the Rolls, the Society noted that this was a practice which was initiated by statute many years ago, which was dispensed with in 1814, which was reinstated by statute in 1815 as a report made by the Professors directly to the President for his consideration and action rather than a reporting considered and acted upon by the Society in corporate sessions, and which was reinstated in its original form by a resolution of the Society on 14 February 1825.³ Again, powers usurped by President Smith were reassumed by the Society.

Also noted in the report was the fact that the Library Fund had made possible the acquisition of some valuable books; that it appeared to be a sum which would be adequate to keep the present stock of books in good condition and to add new books from time to time; and that one of the students, Thomas Smith, had acted as librarian for the past two

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1826, 1:229-240.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1826, 1:232-233.

³Ibid., p. 232.

years, without compensation, thus having saved the College the salary of a librarian during that time.¹ In commenting on the individual Professors and the manner in which each had discharged his duties, another task formerly in the province of President Smith—since 1817, it was noted that the Society had difficulty with and felt much delicacy in addressing this subject; but they believed that each Professor had conducted himself and his classes in a manner he deemed to be best to promote individual improvement and to serve the interests of the College.² The report also gave a detailed explanation of the report published on 19 December 1825, the Society maintaining that the report was published because they felt it was in the best interest of the College to present a unified leadership posture and that they were incorporating their reasoning into the current report because of the written protest of President Smith, entered in the proceedings of the Society, against the address of 19 December:

...it appeared to them [the Society] that the College could not hope for success while the Public believed that things were in an unsettled state, and especially if it was supposed that the College Authorities despaired and doubted of success....The Society certainly never entertained the Opinion that they had the right to censure any Member of the Board of Visitors, nor had they any wish or intention to do so....As a written protest was entered against that Address, the Faculty have deemed it necessary to be minute on the subject to prevent misconception of their Views.³

A matter which received considerable attention in the report and which rightfully concerned the Faculty was the fact that students left the College before the public examinations were administered; and a plea

¹Ibid., pp. 234-235, 240.

²Ibid., p. 235.

³Ibid., p. 234.

was made in several forms that the Visitors approve a shortened school year, omitting the February examinations and terminating the course for the higher schools on June 10th. This, in their opinion, would solve the problem of students leaving the College early, the hot weather being, in their view, the primary reason for the exodus. They further argued that to those who objected to the shortened term at William and Mary as opposed to the ten and one-half month term at the University, the responses could be validly given that it remained yet to be seen whether any benefit would be derived from the University's prolonged course and that "whilst the Course at the University is long and protracted, Policy would recommend that at Wm. & Mary it should be short and energetic...."¹

Two recommendations which the Society identified as contributing to the welfare of the College were the reduced schedule of fees² and the excellent Table and accommodations provided by the Steward. They further noted, however, that the present Steward, Edward Walker, was disposed not to remain at the College unless terms more favorable to him were adopted. He had stated that he would manage a Table if it were kept at the College's expense and a reasonable compensation paid to him; this plan the Society did not deem to be in the best interest of the College though they would part with Walker unwillingly.³ This they apparently had to do, however; for at a meeting on 6 July, the Society noted the resignation of Walker as Steward to the College and resolved

¹Ibid., pp. 236-240.

²Ibid., p. 236.

³Ibid., p. 231.

that an advertisement for a fit successor be inserted in the Enquirer.¹
 This, it should be noted, was the last minutes of the Society signed by
 "J. Aug: Smith Prest."²

Whether or not the Board of Governors and Visitors met in July 1826 is not known. No surviving manuscripts of such a meeting are available, and no mention of a meeting of the Visitors nor of any deliberations or resolutions of this body was recorded in the minutes of the Society. Nor is there any mention of John Augustine Smith resigning his positions of President and of Professor of Moral Philosophy at the College of William and Mary, but this he apparently did. His name was included among the new faculty appointments made in July 1826 by the Board of Regents of the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons.³ Whether President Smith had taken the initiative in securing this appointment or whether the Board of Regents of the College of Physicians and Surgeons had approached him is subject to conjecture. President Smith had been absent from one meeting of the Society on 13 February 1826,⁴ but the minutes of 6 March indicate that his absence on the 13th could have been due to illness;⁵ and the Society apparently had not met on the 20th of February, the next regularly scheduled meeting date for

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 6 July 1826, 1:241.

²Ibid.

³Dalton, History of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, pp. 54-55.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 13 February 1826, 1:219.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 6 March 1826, 1:220.

this body.¹ In light of the recommendations of the Society and the resolutions of the Board of Governors and Visitors during the past year and in light of the concomitant changed role of President Smith as compared with his role at the College during the preceding years of his administration, President Smith could not have been very pleased with his present role nor very optimistic about his future role at the College.

The New York College of Physicians and Surgeons was in a stage of transition at this time, and the Board of Regents of this institution could reasonably have taken the initiative in the sequence of events which resulted in President Smith's return to his former position as Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at the College. The entire faculty of this institution had sent a formal resignation to the Board of Regents on 11 April 1826, and had subsequently left the College and formed a new medical school with Rutgers University.² Further evidence that President Smith was probably invited to return to his former position at the College of Physicians and Surgeons is noted in the meetings a number of years later of a not-too-friendly associate, James R. Manley, a lecturer in obstetrics whose eviction from the faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons was attributed to the efforts of John Augustine Smith.³ Manley wrote in 1841:

...[Smith] could not be ignorant that he was mainly indebted to me for the chair of anatomy in the college in the year 1826, when this

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 27 February 1826, 1:219.

²Dalton, History of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, p. 53.

³Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, 23 vols. (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1935), 17:298.

institution was remodeled, and when my assent alone would have been sufficient to have left him at William and Mary College, to conduct his controversy as well as he might with his Virginian friends, although he had expressed his willingness to be transferred.

Manley further commented that "about this time his situation there, was anything but pleasant, and he was glad to be transferred."² Had he not been transferred, Manley maintained, "Dr. Smith would have been left, to use his own language, in the swamps of Virginia."³

Although the name of John Augustine Smith is not included in a discussion of faculty members of "marked character and ability" at the College of Physicians and Surgeons during the period 1807-1811, following his return to the College in 1826 as Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, he subsequently, in 1831, assumed the office of President of the College as well. In 1834, with new additions to the Faculty, he limited his lectures to Physiology only and continued to serve the College in these two capacities, lecturer in physiology and president of the college, until he retired to private life in 1843.⁴ Following retirement he published three works: The Mutations of the Earth in 1846, Moral and Physical Science in 1853, and Prelections on Some of the More Important

¹James R. Manley, "Exposition of the Conduct and Character of Dr. John Augustine Smith...as exhibited in the session 1839-40" (New York, 1842), p. 10. John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Ibid., p. 20.

³Gravira Manent [James R. Manley], "Letters on the College of Physicians and Surgeons" (New York: Alex S. Gould, 1841), p. 6. John Augustine Smith, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

⁴Dalton, History of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, p. 63.

Subjects Connected with Moral and Physical Science in 1853.¹ It would appear, therefore, that the man who had served as President of the College of William and Mary for twelve years was a leader and had continued to serve an educational institution in a leadership capacity following his tenure as President of the College of William and Mary.

With the resignation of John Augustine Smith another period in the history of the College of William and Mary came to an end, the period during which he served as her president. Was there a loss of leadership for the College during the years of Smith's presidency, the years 1814-1826? As previously noted, whatever benefits the College may have derived from the leadership role provided by a Chancellor were denied her during this period as had been true during the administrations of both President Madison (during the period of this study) and President Bracken; this leadership position had remained vacant. The other three leadership positions provided for by the Charter of the College, however, were responsibly filled. The Board of Governors and Visitors, one of the entities charged with leadership responsibilities, had, from the beginning of President Smith's administration, assumed a strong, aggressive, yet cooperative leadership posture and had been essentially supportive of President Smith, assigning to him authority and responsibilities previously determined to be within the province of the Society. Infrequently, the Board had instituted expedients essentially opposed to President Smith's policies and procedures but in most instances had not

¹Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, 17:298.

acted as expeditiously as it should have for the general welfare of the College. In one such instance, the Board had taken corporate action against President Smith's disciplinary policies but not until 1817 and apparently not before negative reactions to these policies had become widespread throughout the state. In another instance, the Board had taken six years to succeed in having the President exact a satisfactory financial report from the College Bursar; and this circumstance had existed during a time when such a financial accounting was indeed critical to the ability of the friends of the College in the Legislature to act in her best interests in coping with the political forces favoring the application of the resources of the state's Literary Fund to the creation of elementary schools throughout the state and those favoring the sole application of these same resources to the creation of one university for Virginia, an university which was not the College of William and Mary. Had the precise state of the College's resources been known, her representatives would perhaps have been in a better bargaining position at the meeting of the Rockfish Gap Commission when the site to be recommended to the Legislature for the location of the university for Virginia was determined. Throughout this period the Board had apparently maintained a full complement of members; and among those elected to its membership were six members living somewhat distant from Williamsburg, three of whom were from Richmond; two, from Albemarle; and one, from Brunswick. The factors of distance from the College and of proximity to Richmond among the Board's membership could have served to the disadvantage of the College; for during the years 1821-1824, the Board of Governors and Visitors did not meet, a circumstance which one member of the Board verbalized as being attributable to the dominant

leadership role played by President Smith in the conduct of the affairs of the College and another verbalized as being attributable to the meetings of the Board being held during the busy season of the year. Whatever the reasons, and the dominant leadership posture of President Smith appears to have had validity, this group of gentlemen who had accepted the responsibility of providing a specific leadership role for the College of William and Mary had chosen to abdicate their leadership responsibility at a most critical time in the history of the College, a time when the College's own leadership position in the educational hierarchy of the state was being challenged by a multiplicity of forces including the creation of a new university for Virginia. In 1824 when the Board once again met, it again succumbed, it would appear, to the leadership tactics of President Smith by agreeing to petition the Legislature for authority to change the site of the College of William and Mary, an authority presumed by many to have resided within the province of the College leadership. When the Board finally resumed its assigned leadership role in 1825 following the defeat of the petition to which it had acquiesced, it proceeded to implement policies and to institute expedients recommended by some of its own members and by members of the Society; and most of the expedients instituted were contradictory to the leadership posture assumed by President Smith and resulted in a reversal of his leadership position. Thus, as the administration of John Augustine Smith drew to a close, the Board of Governors and Visitors was functioning as a strong, aggressive leadership entity with identifiable goals designed to promote the welfare of the College of William and Mary.

The Society, another entity charged with leadership responsibilities, was, it would appear, dominated by the leadership posture

assumed by President Smith; the Society did, however, appear to assume an active, supportive leadership posture throughout President Smith's administration. As noted, a number of the leadership responsibilities previously assumed by this body were delegated to President Smith by the Board of Governors and Visitors; in addition, the members of the Society were observed and evaluated both personally and professionally by President Smith, a procedure which led to the resignation of Professor Thomas P. Jones in 1817. His successor, Professor Robert Hare, was involved in a controversy concerning fees, a controversy which resulted in the exodus, by expulsion and by choice, of a large number of students a short time after his arrival. With the appointment in 1819 of Professor Patrick Kerr Rogers as Hare's successor and of Professor James Semple as Professor of Law, the membership of the Society was stabilized; and in spite of evidence of much bickering and pettiness, this body provided a concerned and supportive leadership for the College. Throughout President Smith's administration the Chair of Romance Languages remained unfilled; however, the Grammar School was supposedly reopened in 1819 with the appointment of Professor Reuel Keith. In reality, his entrance in 1819 and exit in 1823 went almost unnoticed, and the Grammar School was not really reestablished at the College until 1825 with the appointment of Professor Dabney Browne. The cooperative support given President Smith by the Society was rather remarkable in light of the authority and power he managed to appropriate to himself during most of his administration. Following the defeat of the petition for removal and the assumption of a strong, aggressive leadership posture by the Board of Governors and Visitors, the Society resumed a similar leadership posture, thereby contributing to a reversal of Presi-

dent Smith's leadership posture and a resumption of the power previously deemed to be within the province of the Society. Thus, as President Smith's administration drew to a close, the Society too, had assumed a strong leadership posture in the conduct of the affairs of the College of William and Mary.

The total number of students enrolled at the College during the years 1814-1826 was approximately 621, an average of fifty-two students; and during the early years of President Smith's administration, enrollments at the College had probably been greater than at any time in the past; this was without the enrollment of students in the Grammar School which had been closed in 1812 and which had remained closed when President Smith assumed the presidency in 1814. President Smith attributed the increase during these early years—seventy-five students in 1815, ninety-five in 1816, ninety-two in 1817—to the fact that "the young men had been kept back by the war with Great Britain; that after the war, they consequently came on to College in greater than usual numbers, and that about that time money was much more plenty...."¹ The validity of his observations is sustained perhaps by the fact that the enrollment had been twenty-one in 1814 and that it was fifty in 1818.² The enrollment decline in 1818, however, could have been and by many was attributed to the controversy surrounding Professor Hare and the subsequent large exodus of students. The position assumed by the students regarding the payment of fees to Professor Hare was, in reality, one of leadership; for although the posture assumed at the time by the students

¹"Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges," p. 17.

²Ibid., p. 33.

did result in expulsions and a rather large exodus of students, their actions subsequently resulted in the adoption of a statute by the Board of Governors and Visitors which reduced the schedule of fees paid to a Professor for instruction during the spring term only of the academic year. The practice of duelling among the students, a problem which frequently confronted the Society during President Madison's administration, apparently was not a problem extant during the administration of President Smith. Another problem, however, which confronted the Society during much of President Smith's administration and which was a major concern expressed in the annual report of the Society at the end of his administration was the general exodus of students prior to the end of the academic year with a concomitant decrease in the number of students present at the administration of examinations and in the number qualifying for and earning academic degrees. The number of degrees awarded during President Smith's twelve-year administration, twenty-nine, was substantially fewer than the number awarded during the last twelve years of President Madison's administration, forty-seven. However, during several years of Smith's administration, the number of years required for earning the bachelor's degree was increased from two to three years.¹

¹President Smith observed regarding the awarding of a degree at William and Mary: "...degrees have always been conferred with great reserve in the College of William and Mary, that institution being modelled on the plan of the English universities, rather than after those of Scotland. The high requisites for the degree of A.B. will be evident from the...regulations of the society: 'For the degree bachelor of arts, the student must have a complete knowledge of mathematics, including algebra, fluxions, and the projections of the sphere; must have acquired a knowledge of mechanical and chemical philosophy, opticks and astronomy; must be well acquainted with logick, belles lettres, rhetoric, law of nature and nations, metaphysicks, politicks and political economy'" (*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12).

The alumni, a group usually associated with occupying a leadership role in the affairs of a college or an university, played a critical role in the history of the College during President Smith's administration. The loyalties of this group were divided throughout this period, some favoring and assisting in the creation of a new university in Charlottesville with the College of William and Mary maintaining its historical status in Williamsburg; others favoring the College in Williamsburg being and/or becoming the university for Virginia; others favoring the removal of the College to Richmond to assume a rival status to the new university in Charlottesville; and others, in the view of the author, favoring the removal of the College to the new physical plant for the university in Charlottesville. The greatest foes of the College, however, were two of her alumni who were dedicated to the creation of a new university in Charlottesville (with a hand-picked faculty whose talents in their view far exceeded those of any of the members of the Society at William and Mary) and who proposed legislation for the discontinuance of the College of William and Mary on 1 November 1826, with her resources to be distributed among ten colleges to be established at specific locales throughout the state and her physical plant to house one of these, the College of Williamsburg. These two alumni were Thomas Jefferson and Joseph Carrington Cabell. For Jefferson, at the age of eighty-two, the opening of the new university in Charlottesville and the apparently unanticipated opportunity of utilizing the resources of the College of William and Mary to create for the university a supportive system of colleges to be dispersed throughout the state was the realization of an objective for a three-tiered system of education for the State of Virginia which had met with defeat since it

was first drafted by him and presented to the Legislature of Virginia in 1779. The unfortunate reality was, however, that in 1825 the College of William and Mary was no longer at the apex of his plan for a three-tiered system of education, a position she had held in the plan's original design in 1779. For a number of years Jefferson had repeatedly characterized William and Mary's location as being in an unhealthy part of the state and as lacking the centrality needed for the state university; and at the age of eighty-two, he was apparently willing to do whatever was necessary, including the discontinuance of his Alma Mater, the oldest institution of higher education in the nation, in order to achieve his objective. In Cabell, a fellow alumnus, Jefferson found the political accuity to make his objective a reality. Fortunately for William and Mary, there were other alumni, and friends, in the Legislature who had the political accuity and the wisdom to admit that Cabell and Jefferson had outmaneuvered them and who were willing to defeat the measure for removal before Cabell and Jefferson's bill for discontinuance could be submitted to the floor. As had been true to a small degree during Madison's administration, the alumnus who could have been the College's greatest asset and her greatest friend was, in reality, her greatest enemy during the years of President Smith's administration. Fortunately for the College, other alumni were equally as ardent and loyal as friends.

At one point during President Smith's administration, in 1824, the community of Williamsburg, a body which had always existed as an intimate part of the College's very fabric but a body not specifically charged with responsibility for her welfare, her survival, and her continued prosperity, provided the only leadership the College had at

that particular time; for no single entity charged with providing leadership was functioning in this capacity if the leadership needed was that which would ensure her survival and her continued prosperity in Williamsburg. The protective nature of the attitude of the citizenry of Williamsburg was again evident in July of 1825 when this body requested the Board to change the location of its annual meeting to a room that would accommodate the presence of representatives of the community of Williamsburg at the Board's meetings. This request was denied, but the expression of concern by the citizenry for the College's welfare undoubtedly did redound to the benefit of the College.

Among the entities charged with leadership responsibilities, the dominant leadership role had been assumed by John Augustine Smith who, from the very beginning of his presidency, had assumed a strong leadership posture as President of the College of William and Mary. It was evident from the very beginning of his administration that President Smith was prepared to accept the leadership responsibilities of the position to which he, the first lay President in the history of the College, had been elected. However, the manner in which he chose to expedite these responsibilities was apparently not always in the best interest of the College. In his relationship with the students, it would appear that he had been less than tolerant, so much so, in fact, that the Board of Governors and Visitors had felt compelled to intercede and to limit, by Statute, the disciplining of students to the corporate actions of the Society. In his relationship with the Faculty, he had obtained authority from the Board, by Statute, to observe and to report both on the manner in which the individual members conducted themselves and the manner in which they conducted their classes; and he had suc-

cessfully appropriated to himself other powers which had previously resided within the province of the Society.

In his relationship with the alumni and with the friends of the College in the Legislature, President Smith had been cognizant of their power and had courted their influence. He had solicited the advice of Jefferson early in his administration regarding a choice of texts related to Jefferson's area of experience and expertise. He had kept open the channels of communication with Jefferson and with Cabell as long as he had deemed such channels beneficial to his objectives for the College of William and Mary and probably much longer than such channels were of benefit to the Alma Mater of these two gentlemen. His confidence in the loyalty of friends and alumni of the College in the Legislature and a concomitant belief in their being constantly aware of and instituting actions to the advantage of the College of William and Mary at propitious times had been evident in his response to the Faculty of Hampden Sydney College in 1821. An instance of his reliance on the loyalty of the alumni having served to the disadvantage of the College in the view of the author was his failure to include in his response to Governor Nicholas in 1816 a sound argument for the College of William and Mary being designated the university for Virginia. It is the view of the author that at this point he had believed that he could rely on the alumni and friends of the College including Jefferson and Cabell (to the extent seemingly of currying favor with these two gentlemen) to project these arguments for him, that he had apparently been unaware that Nicholas had solicited and received Jefferson's views prior to addressing the circular letter to various esteemed educators and government officials, and that he had also apparently been unaware that

Jefferson's objectives placed the evolution of Central College to university status for Virginia and not his Alma Mater, The College of William and Mary.

In his relationship with the Board of Governors and Visitors, he had been able to appropriate to himself, again by Statute, the authority to be the sole representative of the Society at the meetings of the Board as well as the sole person authorized to compile and to submit to the Board the annual report concerning the state of the College—physical, financial, and academic; and during the first year of his administration, he had been able to inspire this body to award each member of the Society, including himself, a sizeable increase in salary retroactive to the beginning of his administration or to the beginning date of service to the College on the part of an individual member if such a date were later than the beginning date of Smith's administration. In the guise of reopening the Grammar School, he had succeeded in having the Board establish a professorship undoubtedly designed in his mind to evolve into reestablishing the Chair of Divinity at the College. Following this maneuver, so strong had been his leadership posture that he had successfully presided over the affairs of the College without the benefit of the semiannual or the annual meetings of the Board of Governors and Visitors for a period of three years, from 1821-1824, and had retained his leadership role among the members of the Society during this time in spite of the petty bickerings and apparent jealousies extant among members of this body. Subsequently, in the year 1824, he had succeeded in convincing both the Society and the Board, the leadership entity that had not met for three years, that in light of the imminent opening of the University of Virginia, the survival of the

College of William and Mary depended on their obtaining from the Legislature of Virginia the authority to change the site of the College of William and Mary, an authority presumed by many to have resided from the time of the College's conception, explicit and/or implied, within the governing bodies of the College. The subsequent failure of this maneuver led to a rapid reversal of President Smith's leadership posture at the College and to several changes, again by statute, in his leadership role.

Did the College experience a loss of leadership during the administration of John Augustine Smith? In light of the available evidence, the existence of a power struggle among the entities charged with the responsibility of providing leadership for the College is evident during the years of President Smith's administration. The Society assumed a supportive role, vacillating in degree but constant in existence, until the reversal of Smith's leadership role began in 1825 at which time this body assumed a more aggressive leadership posture. The Board of Governors and Visitors went to the extreme by abdicating its leadership role for a period of three years during a most critical period in the history of the College. Having resumed its leadership role in 1825, however, the Board again assumed a strong, aggressive leadership posture and reversed the leadership posture of President Smith, placing him in the position of viewing resignation as being the more comfortable and a more desirable expedient.

As for President Smith, on the basis of available evidence, one cannot know the intent of his leadership tactics; but it is the view of the author that the motives behind his actions were in his view in the best interest of the College, that he was a good administrator who

viewed the College of William and Mary as the rightful heir to the status of the university for Virginia, who viewed the reestablishment of the Chair of Divinity and the Chair of Medicine as an integral part of the College's university status and of her role in providing an education for the youth of Virginia, and who viewed the reestablishment of the Chair of Divinity as part of the College's heritage and of her responsibility to the Disestablished Church of Virginia. He could be viewed simply as an ambitious egoist who was interested only in position and power and in increased monetary rewards, and these traits did characterize his leadership posture; however, it is the view of the author that his primary motivations were the former and that he did provide the College with a strong, dedicated, though coercive, leadership which included compromise to the extent of changing the locale of the College of William and Mary from Williamsburg to Charlottesville in order to ensure the continuation of her rightful heritage as the university for Virginia. With the failure of this compromise attempt to secure authority to change the locale of the College came a reversal in his leadership posture and his subsequent resignation as President of the College.

In light of the successes noted in the early years of President Smith's administration and in light of a strong leadership posture during the later years when conflict among the entities charged with leadership responsibilities became quite evident, one is inclined to conclude that had he not employed such a strong coercive leadership style perhaps the later years of his administration would have been more successful and his tenure as President of the College much longer and perhaps more rewarding for him and for the College as well. One must

conclude that throughout President Smith's administration the College experienced a controversial leadership—at times a loss of leadership on the part of one or more of the entities charged with leadership responsibilities; at times a coercive leadership which had a widespread negative influence on the welfare of the College; at times a well-intentioned perhaps but misdirected leadership; and at times, particularly at crucial moments, a leadership on the part of entities not specifically charged with leadership responsibilities. Yet, at no time did the College experience a total loss of leadership; and in spite of the fact that a new university for Virginia had opened its doors, on the basis of the annual report of the Society to the Board of Governors and Visitors on 1 July 1826, in the view of the Society the new university had not superseded the College of William and Mary in Virginia; and in their view the College was a rival to the University in Charlottesville, and the validity of assumptions regarding benefits which could be derived from attending that institution rather than the College of William and Mary "remained yet to be seen."¹

As the history of the College reveals, John Augustine Smith's tenure as President of the College of William and Mary ended at some point in the summer of 1826; and on the 16th of October 1826, the Board of Governors and Visitors appointed William Holland Wilmer, Rector of St. Paul's Church in Alexandria, to be the eleventh President of the College of William and Mary in Virginia.² With a return to a member of the clergy serving the College as President, what did the future hold

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1826, 1:240.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 17 October 1826, 1:242.

for the College of William and Mary? What kind of leadership did the College experience during his brief tenure as President? To answer these questions, we look at "The Wilmer Years, 1826-1827," relating the history of the College during these two years and examining the history in terms of the leadership the College experienced during these two years.

CHAPTER V

THE WILMER YEARS, 1826-1827

The name William Holland Wilmer is not a name unfamiliar to this study; for, as noted earlier, he had been indirectly involved with the College of William and Mary during the administrations of both John Bracken and John Augustine Smith. He was born and educated in Kent County, Maryland; was ordained in 1808; and served as rector of his native parish in Chestertown, Maryland, until 1812. In this year he came to Virginia as rector of St. Paul's Church in Alexandria. In this same year, in conjunction with William Meade, he attempted to defeat President Bracken's election to the bishopric of Virginia and in 1813, as part of an apparently larger effort, successfully engineered Bracken's resignation from the bishopric by aborting Bracken's consecration as the second Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, his objective being the "resuscitation" of the Church in Virginia:

Mr. Meade and I are using our endeavours to form a convention & organize the church in this st. If we fail, we mean to petition your convention [Maryland] to receive us. We think it however more likely to subserve the good of the church¹ if we can resuscitate her in Virginia. God only can raise the dead.

¹William H. Wilmer to William Murray Stone, 4 April 1812, Wil-

In 1815 it was he, as President of the Standing Committee of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, to whom President Smith's letter regarding the establishment of a Professorship of Theology at the College of William and Mary was referred;¹ and it was he who, in 1820, recommended that the Church support "the project of Dr. Smith for a Theological Professorship in Williamsburg, and [who] in 1821...advocated its establishment and the appointment of trustees, all of which was done."² In bringing this recommendation to fruition, he was undoubtedly instrumental in effecting Reuel Keith's resignation from his parish and his subsequent appointment to the Professorship of Humanity at the College of William and Mary in 1820. He was also undoubtedly instrumental in effecting Keith's acceptance of the professorship with the fledgling Theological Seminary in Alexandria in 1823.

From the time of the receipt of President Smith's letter in 1815 to the establishment of the Theological Seminary in Alexandria in 1823, and perhaps even to the time of Smith's resignation, one could surmise with a marked degree of certainty that William Wilmer had been involved in a multiplicity of efforts to reunite the theological school and its attendant professorships with the College of William and Mary. The opportunity of reuniting the theological school with the College was, in all probability, Wilmer's reason for accepting the presidency of the College of William and Mary in 1826; in 1817 he had declined an invita-

liam H. Wilmer, Faculty-Alumni File, William and Mary College Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

¹Goodwin, History of the Theological Seminary, p. 77.

²Richard H. Wilmer, The Recent Past From a Southern Standpoint (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1887), pp. 168-169.

tion to be the first rector of St. John's Church in Washington,¹ and earlier in 1826 he had declined an invitation to be Bishop Moore's assistant at Monumental Church (at which Wilmer had preached the first sermon at its opening on 14 May 1814²) in Richmond, reputedly, in both instances, in order to be near and to further the development of the seminary in Alexandria.³ It is said that "in 1826 he thought he heard a call from heaven to the Presidency of William and Mary College, with the care of Bruton parish, Williamsburg; and he obeyed the call."⁴

The election of William H. Wilmer to the presidency of the College of William and Mary is not noted among the surviving manuscripts of the Board of Governors and Visitors. As noted earlier, no surviving records are available to indicate whether this body convened for its annual meeting in July 1826, nor is there any indication in the minutes of the Society of its having met at that time; however, three surviving manuscripts do indicate that the Visitors met on 16 October 1826, and passed statutes relative to the presidency and other professorships. The first of these stipulated that the office of President was to be held by the Professor of Moral Philosophy and that a Professorship of Political Law would be established:

¹T. H. Gilliss to William H. Wilmer, 9 May 1817, William H. Wilmer, Faculty-Alumni File, William and Mary College Papers, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²William H. Wilmer, "A Sermon Delivered in the Monumental Church, in Richmond, Before the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of Virginia, and at the First Opening of the Monumental Church, on Wednesday, May 4, 1814" (Alexandria, Virginia: S. Snowden and F. D. Simms, n.d.).

³Richard H. Wilmer, The Recent Past, p. 169; Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, 5:515.

⁴Richard H. Wilmer, The Recent Past, p. 171.

Be it ordained that from and after the 29th day of October 1826, the office of President be held by the Proff. of Moral Philosophy, and that the said Proff. lecture on the following subjects. Moral psofy—ethics Rhet. & Belle Lettres Phy of Grammar & Logic.

Be it further ordained that there be established in this College a sepearte Professorship of Political Law; and it shall be the duty of him who fills that chair to lecture on the following subjects. Nat. & nat Law. Pol. Economy—Politics, History & Phy. of the Human Mind.

The second statute fixed the annual salaries of the President and the Professors of the College, each of which was to be paid quarterly. The President and Professor of Moral Philosophy was to receive \$1100, to have use of the houses and lot called the President's House, to have use of the garden, and to be provided with wood for fire from the College lands. The Professors of Mathematics, of Chemistry, and of Political Law were to receive \$1100 each; the Professor of Law and Police, \$700; the Professor of Humanity, \$500; and each Professor was to be entitled to receive an additional \$20 from each student who attended his class.² The third manuscript amended the statute regarding the salary of the Professor of Humanity, indicating his salary to be \$600 as of 1 October 1826; and this new statute further provided the Professor of Humanity with the authority to appoint an assistant, at an annual salary of \$250 payable quarterly, to perform such duties as the Professor might require of him.³ An additional act of the Board was the election of Robert McCandlish of Williamsburg to membership on the Board of Governors and

¹Manuscript, 16 October 1826, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Manuscript, 16 October 1826, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³Manuscript, [—] October 1826, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

Visitors, probably at the meeting of this body on the 16th of October.¹

According to the recorded minutes of the Society on 17 October 1826, the Board passed two additional resolutions at its meeting on the 16th, that appointing Thomas R. Dew as Professor of Political Law and that confirming the appointment of Dabney Browne as Professor of Humanity. Each of these gentlemen produced a certificate of qualification and took his seat as a member of the Society at their meeting on the 17th.² Dabney Browne had filled the Professorship of Humanity since his appointment by the Society on 5 September 1825;³ and both of these young men were alumni of the College, Browne having earned the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1810⁴ and Dew having earned the Bachelor's degree in 1821 and the Master of Arts degree in 1825.⁵ In addition to noting these two appointments, the minutes of the Society on the 17th recorded a notice to be published in the Whig, the Herald, the Enquirer, the Beacon, and "a Petersburg paper & that assigned by James Semple Secretary pro:tem."⁶ This notice noted actions of the Visitors on the 16th regarding William H. Wilmer, who, it was stated, was appointed President and Professor of Moral Philosophy; Thomas R. Dew, who was appointed Professor of Political Law; and Dabney Browne, who was confirmed in his appointment as Professor of Humanity. Dew and Browne, it was noted, had

¹A Provisional List, p. 53.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 17 October 1826, 1:242.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 5 September 1825, 1:210.

⁴Catalogue of the Alumni, p. 153.

⁵Ibid., pp. 153-154.

⁶"Proceedings of the Society," 17 October 1826, 1:242.

accepted their appointments; and Wilmer was expected to accept his appointment as well. The notice further noted that the College would open, as usual, on the 30th of October and that the fees were \$185 for the higher schools and \$120 for the Grammar School. Also noted were specific courses to be taught by each of the six professors.¹ It would appear that for the first time in a number of years the College would have a full complement of professors. It would further appear that the Board was exercising its leadership responsibilities and was apparently working in concert with the Society in providing the necessary leadership for the College; and it should be noted that with the appointment of William H. Wilmer as President, the Board had returned to the practice, interrupted only by the appointment of John Augustine Smith, of electing a leading member of the clergy of the Episcopal Church to the presidency of the College of William and Mary, in this instance a gentleman who had been awarded the degree, Doctor of Divinity, by Brown University in 1820 and a gentleman who, according to church historians, had been influential in the affairs of the Church to a rare degree, both in Virginia and in the Church at large. This influence he undoubtedly continued to exercise in fulfilling his dual roles as President of the College of William and Mary and, at the same time, as Rector of Bruton Parish in Williamsburg.

Preparatory to the opening of the College, the Society met on the 30th of October and appointed Joseph Gresham to the office of Steward and agreed to accord him an allowance of ten dollars for each room occupied by two students in addition to the provisions accorded him

¹Ibid.

by the Visitors. The Society also resolved that "such Pupils as belong only to the Grammar School and are above the age of 14 years be compelled to matriculate without the payment of any fee, since they will not be entitled to the use of the Library until they become full Students."¹ Their final action at this meeting was to read, approve, and sign the proceedings of the Society on 17 October; only Professors Semple and Rogers and the two new professors who qualified and took their seats on the 17th had been present at that meeting.² The following day the Society again met and appointed a student, Walker Hawes, to be librarian for the current session and allowed him a compensation of \$50. They also established the schedule of lectures for the fall session: on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday—Political Law at nine o'clock, Mathematics at ten, and Chemical Class at eleven; on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday—Moral Class at nine o'clock, Natural Philosophy at ten, and Law Class at nine.³ As had sometimes been necessary in the past, the schedule for the Law lectures was changed following matriculations; meeting on 8 November, the Society changed the schedule for these lectures to Monday, Wednesday and Friday at ten o'clock.⁴

On 2 November 1826, the Society resolved that the Secretary should notify the public that William Wilmer had accepted the appointment as President and Professor of Moral Philosophy, that his lectures would commence on the 25th of November, and that the Steward had begun

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 30 October 1826, 1:242-243.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 17 October 1826, 1:242.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 31 October 1826, 1:243.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 8 November 1826, 1:245.

his duties and was prepared to accommodate as many students as may desire to attend the lectures.¹ Evidence that Wilmer was already involved with preparations for removal at the time of this announcement is noted in a letter written from Alexandria on 4 November:

I have been endeavoring every day for a week or two past to get out and see you; but such has been the press of engagements arising from my arrangements for removal, that I have not had it in my power. I depart for Philadelphia on Monday, to return in about ten days. At that time I hope I have time to see you a moment.²

On 2 December 1826, William Wilmer presented his certificate of qualification to the Society and took his seat at the Board. The College of William and Mary now officially had its eleventh president, the Reverend Dr. William Holland Wilmer. The Society then ordered that the "strong Box heretofore kept by the President, & containing the Books and valuable papers of the College be delivered into the Hands of Dr. Wilmer."³

The one other matter considered by the Society on the 2nd of December related to the conduct of the financial affairs of the College, the passage of a resolution that the bond of Hartwell Macon, who had indicated his readiness to discharge the bond, be transmitted to the Bursar.⁴ Four additional meetings of the Society during November and December were concerned, all or in part, with financial considerations. On 6 November 1826, the Society appointed Fielding Lewis as agent and representative of the College at all future meetings of the Dismal Swamp

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 2 November 1826, 1:244.

²William H. Wilmer to [—], 4 November 1826, William H. Wilmer, Faculty-Alumni File, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 2 December 1826, 1:246-247.

⁴Ibid., p. 247.

Company, authorizing him to receive any dividends due the College, to vote and act in the name of the College, and "to do all things in promoting the object of such Meetings that it might be lawful for us to do...until a Revocation of this power."¹ Meeting on 8 November 1826, the Society resolved that "Executions be not issued on the Judgments of the College which may be ordered against Col: John D. Watkins and his Securities at the November Term of the Court of New Kent County, until the further Order of the Faculty."² On 4 December the Society resolved that a sum of \$40 be allowed Professor Rogers for two iron grates at the Brafferton and that \$1.50 be allowed him for two irons for the chemical apparatus; the Society also passed a resolution at this meeting requesting the Bursar to purchase "a Copy of Malte Brun's Geography."³ One other resolution passed at this meeting which may or may not have involved an additional expenditure of funds, depending on who was employed in carrying out the task, "authorized and requested" the Steward to have the College wells cleaned.⁴ Meeting on the 11th of December the Society resolved that the Bursar "be required to procure two stoves for the use of the College";⁵ and at this same meeting the Society read and acted on a letter from former Professor Jones concerning a sum he claimed was still due him. The Bursar had previously determined Jones' claim to be invalid; and in responding to his second request, the Soci-

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 6 November 1826, 1:244-245.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 8 November 1826, 1:245.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 4 December 1826, 1:248.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 11 December 1826, 1:248-249.

ety reminded Jones of this fact but agreed to investigate his claim again.¹

The other concern of the Society at its weekly meetings was a procedural matter, that of reporting student absences. The reporting of absences was the only recorded business of the Society at meetings held on the 13th, 20th, and 27th of November; and at each of these meetings it was reported that there had been no absences from any of the lectures during the preceding week.² At their meeting on 4 December, the Professor of Political Law reported "Mr. Christian absent from Lectures on Decr. 1st on account of sickness";³ and the other Professors reported no absences except the Professor of Humanity whose report of thirteen absences on Friday evening resulted in the adoption of a resolution regulating the conduct of the young scholars in the future:

The Profr. of Humanity reported 13 absentees on friday Evening—whereupon the Society adopted the Resolution...for the regulation of the Conduct of the Scholars in future...the scholars of the Grammar-school shall on no occasion absent themselves from the regular Recitations appointed for their Classes except by the permission of the Professor of Humanity, or with the Consent of their Parents or guardians; which Consent must be made known either verbally or in writing to the professor.⁴

On the 11th the Professors reported no absences for the preceding week;⁵ but on the 18th of December, Lewellin Christian⁶ was again reported absent on account of sickness from the lectures of both the Professor of

¹Ibid.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 13 November 1826, 1:245-246; 20 November 1826, 1:246; 27 November 1826, 1:246.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 4 December 1826, 1:247-248.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 11 December 1826, 1:248.

⁶A Provisional List, p. 12.

Political Law and the Professor of Natural Philosophy.¹ Also, at this meeting it was decided that "the scholars in the Grammar School be allowed a Holliday of 8 days every year from 23rd Decr. inclusive to the 1st of January exclusive."² There were, it would appear, nineteen students enrolled at the College during this academic year. The education of one of these young men, Alexander Galt Taliaferro,³ with regard to arranging for his classes at the College was entrusted to Alexander D. Galt, a Williamsburg physician and a member of the Board of Governors and Visitors since 1808,⁴ by the young man's guardian or father, William Taliaferro of Gloucester Court House.⁵

No other evidence for the year 1826 is available to the author at this time. The year had been one in which the balance of power among the leadership of the College had continued to shift away from the President to the Society and had culminated in the resignation of President Smith and the appointment by the Board of Governors and Visitors of a successor who, once again, was a member of the clergy of the Episcopal Church in Virginia; but he was also a man vitally interested in education, in the rebuilding of the power and influence of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, and in the reuniting, one could safely conjecture, of the Theological School with the College of William and Mary, this

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 18 December 1826, 1:249.

²Ibid.

³A Provisional List, p. 39.

⁴Ibid., p. 52.

⁵William Taliaferro to Alexander D. Galt, 28 October 1826, Galt Papers, Vol. I, Manuscript Collections, College of William and Mary.

reuniting probably being the major impetus for his having accepted the Presidency of the College. Both the Society and the Board of Governors and Visitors had exercised strong leadership roles during this year; and although the enrollment had not substantially increased, it had been sustained. The leadership role of the President, which had been relegated to a negative posture by both the Board and the Society, had regained a portion of its leadership posture with the appointment of William H. Wilmer; and this positive leadership posture would continue and even increase in 1827, in all probability.

Early in January 1827 President and Mrs. Wilmer gave a party at the President's house for the students for the purpose of introducing them to the inhabitants of Williamsburg. A letter to Lucy Page of Rosewell, Gloucester, on 16 January 1827, contains a happy account of the evening and indicates the emergence of a warm and happy relationship among President and Mrs. Wilmer, the students, and the citizens of Williamsburg:

I was very anxious too, to tell you what a charming evening the last was—we spent it at our President's—he gave a party to the Students—being extremely anxious that they should be introduced to the inhabitants of our Village—and have some innocent recreation. I had to introduce Mrs. Wilmer to half her company as all the single ladies were invited—those she had seen, & those she had not. The Dear Doctor remained in the parlour all the evening, conversing agreeably with each in his & her turn, & selecting words for—"How do ye like it"—he appeared like a beloved Father in the midst of his children—delighted & giving delight—and after we had feasted on the good things of Providence—cakes—fruit, ice-creams, & wine &c—and were about to depart, he asked the company to unite with him in a Hymn & Prayer. accordingly my sister Mary played the old Hundred & we all sang with sweet accord—and the faithful servant of the Lord—knelt in the midst of his children blessing God for his ser-

vices & interceding for his flock. Thus my dear friend he concluded the party as a minster of the Gospel should.¹

A few weeks later, an article written by an alumnus of William and Mary residing in Fredricksburg appeared in the Fredricksburg Herald. This communication, too, indicated that the new President had been warmly received and that he was worthy of the acclaims accorded him:

The friends of this venerable College...have cause to rejoice at the very happy and pleasing prospect of its full resuscitation.... The writer has had...an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Wilmer, for the last 10 or 15 years...[and] regards him a[s] most happily and ably constituted and qualified, for the very responsible office to which he has been called, in a manner alike honorable to him and the Board of Visitors who made the call with such decided unanimity. Dr. Wilmer...is a laborious student, and is remarkable for an untiring and systematic attention to all his pursuits and engagements; and withal, is, in manners, the kind, easy and accomplished gentleman.

Under the chief guidance and superintendence of such a President, the College cannot fail again to flourish & to prosper, in a country especially where literature and science mingled with the lights and influences of religion, are the sure passport to honorable preferment and to happiness.²

The writer of this communication, "A Citizen of Fredricksburg," included a prolonged defense of the climate in Williamsburg and concluded his defense with this question: "...what part of Virginia, short of the Alleghany section of it, let me emphatically ask, Mr. Editor, is at all seasons and at all years exempt from those diseases [ague and fever and bilious complaints of a mild type]?"³ The argument that William and Mary was located in an unhealthy part of the state was again apparently being circulated as a reason for not sending Virginia youth

¹E. G. G. to Lucy B. Page, 16 January 1827, Small Collection, Manuscripts Collection, College of William and Mary.

²Richmond Enquirer, 27 February 1827; "Proceedings of the Society," 12 February 1827, 1:256.

³Ibid.

to the College for an education; and an examination of the minutes of the Society during the remaining months of the spring session would seem to indicate that for this year at least the climate in Williamsburg was unhealthy and the various illnesses were very much in evidence among the students at the College. As in the recent past, a portion or all of the recorded business at each meeting of the Society was devoted to reporting and recording absences. No absences were reported for the preceding week at meetings held on the 8th, 15th, 22nd, and 31st of January; the 5th of February; and on the 5th and 12th of March.¹ From the 26th of February through the 25th of June, however, the preponderance of absences reported were because of sickness;² and most of these illnesses were between 26 March and 7 May. On the 26th of March, the Society resolved that one of the students should be permitted to move out of the College and board with his brother because of the delicate state of his health; and the Steward was instructed to refund him whatever sum he may have paid in advance for board.³ On the 16th of April, two students were given a leave of absence for the remainder of the session because of illness;⁴ and Walker Hawes, the student appointed to serve as Librarian, was permitted to leave the College on 22 June because of illness.

The writer concluded his published communication with an excerpt from a letter "just received from a friend, residing in Williamsburg,

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 8, 15, 22, 31 January; 5 February; 5, 12 March 1827, 1:251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257-258, 258 respectively.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 26 February through 25 June 1827, 1:256-273.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 26 March 1827, 1:263.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 16 April 1827, 1:265.

containing...very agreeable intelligence respecting the present state of the College," noting that it was his decision, and not the intention of his friend in writing the letter, to publish these favorable observations:

'Dr. Wilmer is increasing every day in popularity, and he deserves it. It is the most interesting family I ever saw—the College is looking up fast:—the students are increasing daily, and the lower School, what is termed the Professorship of Humanity,* full to overflowing, there being upwards of 60 Pupils, and the great majority from a distance.—Feb. 6th, 1827.'—*The Grammar School, in which the dead languages chiefly are taught—a most valuable department in the College. During the long and able Presidency of Bishop Madison, this branch of education in the College, was vigorously and usefully sustained, as an important auxiliary preparation for the more advanced & higher branches of the collegiate course—after the Bishop's death, and the appointment of his successor, this school was put down; a fatal measure,¹ as the writer has always thought, to the prosperity of the College.

The writer's added comments regarding the Professorship of Humanity expressed views voiced by others at various times in the past, as has been noted, including the views held by the Board of Governors and Visitors in approving the establishment of a Professorship of Humanity in 1819 during the presidency of John Augustine Smith with the intent of reopening the Grammar School, an effort which the Board had permitted to fail by acquiescing to the teaching of the higher classics only by the Professor appointed to fill this Professorship.

This same view is evidenced in part in the resolutions passed by the Society at its initial meeting in 1827, held the 3rd of January; these three resolutions, it would appear, were designed to enhance and strengthen the academic milieu at the College by specifying the number

¹Ibid.

of classes a student at the College must attend and by requiring preliminary preparatory studies for admission to the senior classes:

Resolved that when a Student first enters College (unless he be a Law Student) he must attend the three Junior classes: If he should wish to attend only one or two classes, or should desire to attend the senior classes, he must apply to the Faculty who will decide whether it be expedient to permit him to attend fewer than three classes or to enter the senior Classes. Resolved also that a student will not be permitted to attend a Senior class, who is not prepared on the necessary preliminary studies, unless his age or other circumstances of much weight shall induce the Society to depart from this Rule. Resolved that students in the second year of their attendance at College shall attend three Classes, unless the Society¹ shall deem it expedient to permit them to deviate from that Course.

These resolutions, it should perhaps be noted, were in accord with recommendations made by both James Semple and John Seawell in their testimony before the Committee of Schools and Colleges in January 1825; and their implementation should resolve problems extant at the College relative to rivalry among the Professors for students and the enrollment of inadequately prepared students in the classes of the several Professors. It would appear that the Board of Governors and Visitors was exercising a strong and wise leadership role, particularly in the appointment of President Wilmer and also of Professor Dew, a young man who was destined to become the thirteenth President of the College in less than a decade. The Society, too, appeared to be adopting expedients indicative of a strong and wise leadership.

The increase in enrollment, particularly among the Grammar School scholars, and a desire, one could conjecture, to offer instruction in the Romance languages, precipitated the passage of a resolution

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 3 January 1827, 1:250.

on 5 February 1827, that "the sum of \$60 be allowed Mr. [Henry] James¹ for teaching French to a Class in College from the 22nd of February to the 1st of August."² Meeting again on the 12th of February, the Society amended the resolution of the 5th by stipulating that James be allowed \$100 for teaching French from the 22nd of February to the end of the Course (July 4th or August 1st?) to "such of the Scholars in the Grammar School, as may wish to attend him and may be allowed to do so by the Profr. of Humanity...this appropriation is made in consequence of the Relinquishment by the Professor of Humanity of the \$100 part of the salary allowed [him] by the statutes";³ and on the 26th of February the Society resolved that James, who had been employed since the 15th of January, "shall be entitled to receive for his Services \$25 p. month."⁴ The services of Henry James were terminated, it could be assumed, on or about the 6th of July, the only recorded business of the Society on that date being a resolution empowering the Professor of Humanity to discharge Henry James forthwith:

Whereas Mr. James who was appointed assistant to the Professor of Humanity has been guilty of great Impropriety toward said Professor; Resolved that the Profr. of Humanity be, and he hereby is empowered to discharge the said Mr. James forthwith from his School.⁵

According to the annual report of the Society dated 1 July 1827, to the Board of Governors and Visitors at their meeting on 4 July 1827, Henry James had been appointed by the Faculty, upon the recommendation of the

¹ A Provisional List, p. 49.

² "Proceedings of the Society," 5 February 1827, 1:255.

³ "Proceedings of the Society," 12 February 1827, 1:256.

⁴ "Proceedings of the Society," 26 February 1827, 1:256.

⁵ "Proceedings of the Society," 6 July 1827, 1:274.

Professor of Humanity, on 15 January 1827; and his salary had commenced on that date. The Grammar School scholars who were selected by the Professor of Humanity and who wished to do so, had received instruction in French without fee, the \$100 additional salary granted to the Professor of Humanity by the Board and declined by him having been appropriated to James for his services. The students in the higher schools desiring to do so had attended the French class "upon paying the fee of tuition, and thus the desirable object had been attained, of introducing this department into the College without any augmentation of expense to the Institution."¹ This is the first time that it has been officially noted that French, or any of the Romance languages, had been offered in the College since such instruction was offered by Professor Girardin upon his appointment in 1803 during the administration of President Madison.

Other decisions of the Society concerned with the courses of instruction at the College included a notice to be published in the Richmond Enquirer of the semi-annual examination of the students and a description of subjects to be included in the several courses of lectures to be taught at the College following the February examinations. The examinations were scheduled to commence on the 17th and to terminate on the 22nd of February. "Parents and Guardians and all strangers who may desire to be present, are earnestly solicited to attend."² The courses of lectures were described as follows: in Moral Philosophy, President Wilmer would commence his lectures on logic and

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1827, 1:281.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 5 February 1827, 1:255-256.

ethics which would be concluded in July; in Mathematics, the senior class would study astronomy and fluxions; the junior class would study solid geometry, plane trigonometry, surveying mensuration, and some of the higher branches of algebra; a third class, opened because of a late accession of students, would study geometry and algebra; in Natural Philosophy, the continuation of the course would embrace hydro-dynamics, pneumatics, acoustics, optics, magnetism, et cetera; in Chemistry, also a continuation, the lectures would embrace all the particular subjects of that science; in the Political Course, the Professor would commence his lectures on the philosophy of the human mind and history; and in Law, the course would embrace all the subjects treated by Blackstone from the fourteenth chapter in his second volume. The notice concluded with a restatement of the fees for the course, noting that those "who enter the College after the 22d Feb. pay half the Fees."¹ Meeting on the 21st of April, the Society determined that "all the Lectures in College commence on each day one hour in anticipation of the Times specified in the proceedings of 31st October 1826";² and on the 7th of July the Society passed the following resolution, to which the President and the Professor of Natural Philosophy dissented with no reason being included in the request that their dissent should be recorded, permitting the Professor of Political Law to offer a class during the ensuing session consisting of one lecture in history each week which would not be a requisite for graduation and whose schedule would not interfere with any other classes at the College:

¹Ibid.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 21 April 1827, 1:266.

Resolved that the Polit. Professor be permitted to open a Course of Lectures on History during the ensuing session one Lecture p week, and that this Class shall not interfere with any of the Regular Classes in College, nor attendance on it be requisite for graduation: neither shall attendance upon this class be deemed a Reason for his not attending upon the three regular Classes as prescribed by the Statute of the Visitors of 6th Jan 1827.¹

Professor Dew probably did not have many students attend his lectures in history during the preceding session and was attempting to devise a means of attracting the young gentlemen to a course of study deemed by him to be of interest and of importance to a well-educated young man.

In addition to the administration of the public examinations, 17 February through the 22nd, to which parents, guardians, and "all strangers" were invited, the Society resolved, on the 12th of March, that a circular, to be prepared by the President, be copied and sent to the parent or guardian of every student "recommending the propriety of continuing their Sons or Wards at College during the whole of the session."² On the basis of statements incorporated into the annual report of the Faculty to the Visitors dated 1 July, the purpose of this circular was not a revival of the practice of sending home evaluations of individual students but rather an attempt to correct the practice of students leaving College before the end of the term and without having taken the July examinations. Their efforts had been directed in a manner that had culminated in a happy resolution of the problem, as can be noted in their report:

As a correction of this evil, the Faculty determined to give no permission to a Student to leave College, without a written request from the parent or guardian [one would have assumed, based on the numerous attempts to correct this problem, that this had been the

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1827, 1:277.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 12 March 1827, 1:258.

procedure in the previous years]: they wrote also to the parents and guardians of all the Students in College, representing to them the great disadvantage of this practice, both to the Student and to the Institution, and earnestly pressing them to require the continuance of their sons and wards at College, until the close of the term. This measure has been attended with the happiest effect. All the Students, except one who left College early in the session, and a Law-Student who retired at the end of the law-courses and who did not attend any other lectures, have remained in College, and, by their increased attention and diligence, excited, perhaps, in part, by the approaching examination, have borne strong testimony to the beneficial consequences of this measure.

President Wilmer, and the Society, appear to be exercising a strong, wise, and successful leadership. One is forced to question why similar efforts of the previous administration had failed to realize satisfactory results. The Society had one new member, Professor Dew, and a new President. On the basis of the Society's annual report, therefore, one can safely assume that students completed the public examinations in 1827 in July as well as in February; and one student, Walker Hawes, the young student Librarian during this year, earned the degree Bachelor of Arts.² Meeting on the 19th of May, the Society resolved that the degree be conferred on young Hawes provided he present a thesis to the Society in June which met with their approval and subsequently deliver the same at graduation on the 4th of July.³ Unfortunately young Hawes became ill; and although he completed his thesis, which was approved by the Faculty, the Society deemed it best that he be permitted to leave College "before the close of the session, and that the degree of A.B. which was awarded to him be publicly conferred on the 4th of July 1828."⁴

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1827, 1:283.

²Catalogue of the Alumni, 1866-1932, p. 154.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 19 May 1827, 1:269.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 22 June 1827, 1:272.

Apparently no degrees were conferred on 4 July 1827; however, on the 7th of July 1827, the Society resolved that "the Honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity be conferred upon the Rev. William Meade of Frederick County Va.....[and] on the Rev.d Robert B. Semple of King and Queen County Virga."¹

The Society and President Wilmer also appear to have exercised a wise leadership in administering student discipline during 1827, the first recorded disciplinary matter to receive their attention being noted at the meeting of the Society on the 31st of January. Having received information "of a very particular nature, touching the Intentions and Views of...[a student's] father, and his design to recall" his son, the Society revised a sentence of expulsion imposed on the student who had left the College without permission, having construed his father's intentions "into an authority to him to return home."² The second recorded disciplinary problem arose on the night of the 20th of March; on this night fourteen of the students had yielded to a temptation to which a number of their predecessors had succumbed in the past, that of breaking open the belfry door and ringing the College bell—"for a considerable Time" and not once but twice. President Wilmer and Professor Semple had discovered the two young men responsible for the first period of ringing; but they had retired when the second ringing, which had been accompanied by boisterous noises and profane exclamations, commenced half an hour later. These twelve young culprits remained unidentified until, upon hearing that the first two had been

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1827, 1:276.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 31 January 1827, 1:254-255.

summoned to appear before the Society the following day, they, too, presented themselves at the meeting in the Society's Council Chamber. The Society, having determined that their interrogations had produced no answers which would enable them to discriminate among the individual cases and having further determined that they neither desired to suspend the students nor to write their parents or guardians, decided to postpone the case until their next regular meeting.¹ At this meeting, on the 26th, a communication from the students in question was read and considered. Although the students expressed in their communication neither an apology nor any regret, they did express a disavowal of intentions to resist or to violate the laws of the College; and the Society decided not to suspend the students but rather to write their parents or guardians and exhort them to caution their sons or wards against any further acts of disorder or insubordination.²

Subsequently, on the 21st of April, the Society decided that the laws which regulate the conduct of the students should be made known to the students and be made available in the future to each student at the beginning of every course. To accomplish this the Society resolved that three hundred copies of the laws should be printed.³ The Society further resolved at a meeting held less than a week later on the 27th of April that the students should immediately be made aware of the laws of the College and should be assembled for this purpose:

Resolved that the Laws of the College contained at the end of the Charter be read to the Students to-morrow Morning at 8 o'clk, as

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 21 March 1827, 1:260-261.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 26 March 1827, 1:262.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 21 April 1827, 1:266.

also three other Statutes contained in the Laws lately revised by the Faculty; and that the President deliver to them an address expressive of the disapprobation of the Professors in relation to certain disorderly conduct and the want of due application to their studies, together with such other Remarks as may be deemed advisable.¹

The assembly apparently was beneficial to the students, for a student "arraigned for disorderly Conduct & Inattention to his Studies" on the 8th of May had his case dismissed on the basis of his own statements and on the basis of statements of three of his peers whom he requested be examined in his defense, the Society being convinced that he had abstained from disorderly conduct and dissipation and his diligence had improved since the reading of the laws to the students.² A summary statement of the Society's philosophy toward the students' conduct and the administration of discipline is noted in the annual report of the Society to the Board of Governors and Visitors in July:

It has been a primary object with the Faculty to impress upon the Students habits of industry, good order and morality; but it ought not to be concealed, that, at times more dissipation and disorder prevailed in College, than could be reconciled with the most liberal toleration. Had the Faculty proceeded with rigour, many members of the College might have been sent away. But their object was to correct and reclaim. They proceeded with tenderness and deliberation, but with firmness. They called in the aid of the parents and guardians, and appealed to them as friends and patrons of the College. They advised, admonished, reprimanded, warned and persuaded; and to their great satisfaction, they have it to say, that they succeeded almost to the extent of their wishes. The conduct of the Students, has been, of late, such as to give high gratification to the Faculty, and they take pleasure in bestowing upon them the just meed of praise.—The greater number of them have, by their diligence for some time past, recovered, as far as possible, the loss sustained from their want of attention during the antecedent parts of the session; and, in justice to some of them, it is proper to say, that they have been uniformly correct, diligent and³ attentive, and that they have made the most flattering improvements.

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 27 April 1827, 1:267.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 8 May 1827, 1:268.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1827, 1:283-284.

On the 26th of February the Society had adopted the following rules of order for its meetings:

1. A member may introduce a proposition without having it seconded.
2. When a proposition is made, the mover may accompany it with such prefatory remarks as may be necessary to explain the design and object of the proposition; after which he shall if required by a Member of the Society, reduce his Motion to writing.

Resolved that in all questions submitted to this Society, the president be requested to give his Vote as a Member.¹

At this same meeting the committee which, at some point, had been appointed to revise the "Laws and Regulations and Orders of the Society, and to report which of them are now in force, and also to report the Statutes and Resolutions of the Visitors which are now in force,"² made a report which was adopted by the Society. The Society further directed the Committee "to procure a fit Book, and employ a scribe to enter therein such Statutes and Resolutions of the Visitors as are reported to be in force, and to Copy the several Rules, Resolutions, orders and Laws made by the Faculty which are now in force on sheets of paper...."³ On the 19th of March, the Committee "directed to cause the Laws Rules and Regulations of the Society [to be copied] on separate sheets reported they had performed that Duty and submitted the same to the Faculty. On motion, they were laid upon the Table."⁴ On the 26th of March, the Committee reported that the Statutes had been transcribed and "laid the Book in which they were contained before the Society."⁵ On the 21st of

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 26 February 1827, 1:256-257.

²Ibid., p. 257.

³Ibid.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 19 March 1827, 1:259.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 26 March 1827, 1:263.

April, subsequent to the decision that three hundred copies of laws regulating the conduct of the students be printed, the Society resolved that "the revised Laws of the Faculty be copied into the Book wherein the Laws of the Visitors have been copied and that all Laws hereafter passed by the Governors & Visitors and by the Faculty shall be regularly copied into the same Book."¹ Unfortunately, on the basis of research as of this writing, the book into which the laws of the Visitors and of the Society were copied has not survived.

In the annual report of the Society to the Board of Governors and Visitors which was considered and approved for submission to the Board at a meeting of the Society on 1 July 1827, the following statements were noted regarding the laws and statutes of the College:

The Laws of the Visitors not having been revised for a long time, it became difficult to the Faculty to ascertain what Laws were now in force. They therefore appointed a committee for the purpose of making this investigation. The Report of the committee was adopted by the Society, and copied into a Book procured for that purpose, and which is herewith submitted as a part of this Report. Whilst the Society bear testimony to the diligence and labour with which the committee performed the duty assigned them, they hope that the difficulties necessarily attendant upon the revision of numerous Statutes, and scattered through two large folio volumes, will be deemed a sufficient apology for any errors that may have crept into their report. The Faculty beg leave to suggest, that it would be highly acceptable and important to them, to learn from the Visitors whether the Laws thus reported, are now in force, and the only Laws now in force.²

At the meeting of the Society held on the 7th of July 1827, following the meeting of the Board of Governors and Visitors, the following resolution was recorded regarding the revised laws of the Visitors and of the Society:

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 21 April 1827, 1:266.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1827, 1:281-282.

Whereas a Committee was appointed to revise the Laws of the Visitors and of the Society now in force, and the Report of the Committee to that effect was adopted by the Society, and copied into a Book obtained for that purpose, it is hereby resolved that the Laws thus copied in the "Statute Book" of the Society, and which will be found contained in said Book from page 170 to page 181, both included and likewise from page 208 to page 210—both inclusive—the first entitled "The Statutes of the Society and of the Visitors relating to Students as reported to be now in force by the Committee appointed for that purpose, and adopted by the Society; Agreeably to a Resolution of the Society of the 21st of April 1827. They are now placed in this Book as containing the Laws of the Society and of the Visitors in force at that Date. Those marked S.V. are those enacted by the Visitors," and the second entitled "Laws & Regulations of the Faculty relating to their own Government, reported as being in force, by a Committee appointed for that purpose and adopted 21st April 1827." and signed by the President,—be and they are hereby declared to be the Laws of the Faculty now in force.¹

It would appear that a request initiated by the Board of Governors and Visitors in July 1821 as a task to be accomplished by a committee within this leadership entity had finally been completed by a committee within the Society and was approved by both leadership bodies in July 1827. Perhaps if this task had been accomplished by the Committee of the Board of Governors and Visitors in 1821, the question of petitioning the Legislature for authority to change the site of the College might never have arisen.

A number of the deliberations of the Society at their meetings during 1827 involved considerations concerning the Steward, Joseph Gresham of Henrico, who had served the College since his appointment on 30 October 1826.² Apparently the former Steward had sustained a considerable loss (a loss which the Society believed had contributed considerably to his determination to resign his office) by refunding, without consulting the Society, to each student who left the College

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1827, 1:276.

²Ibid., p. 280.

during the term "so much of his board as had been paid in advance beyond the time at which he left College."¹ On the 8th of January 1827, the Society had agreed to permit two students to board in town on the basis of two members of the Society having given the students permission to "consummate a Contract for their Board"[ing in town].² Subsequently, at a meeting held the 22nd of January, the Society adopted a resolution designed to limit and to control the incidence of such refunds:

...when a Student enters College and boards with the Steward, the whole Interval of Time between the period of his Entrance and the Termination of the Lectures in the Class or Classes which he attends, shall be divided into two equal parts, and his Board (estimated according to the Statutes of the Visitors for each moiety of said Interval) shall be paid in advance—and that after such payment, nothing shall be refunded by the Steward to a Student in case he should leave College: unless he leaves College by the permission of the Faculty on account of his Health, in which case the Faculty may decide whether any and if any, what part of the Money paid shall be refunded.³

A restatement of this position regarding the division of and prepayment of board in two equal parts and the limitations on the refunding of monies thus paid was incorporated into the annual report of the Society in July.⁴

Also incorporated into the annual report was another position taken by the Society regarding "the plan which requires the Students to board in College, [noting that] many serious inconveniencies [sic] and mischiefs necessarily grow out of the plan...."⁵ The position taken by

¹Ibid.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 8 January 1827, 1:251.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 22 January 1827, 1:254.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1827, 1:280-281.

⁵Ibid., p. 282.

the Society was that of permitting a student to board in town at the request of a parent or guardian provided the expense did not exceed the amount allowed the Steward and further provided that the Steward should take all who might choose to board at the College Table.¹ On the 11th of June, the Society had appointed President Wilmer a committee of one to enquire of the inhabitants of Williamsburg the terms under which they would be willing to board students for the whole session;² and his report had been submitted to the Society at their next meeting, 16 June 1827.³ The "serious inconveniences and mischiefs" growing out of the requirement that a student board at the College were not specifically identified; however, the minutes of the Society record intimations of such occurrences. On the 26th of March, the Society passed a resolution requiring the Steward to inspect the room of any student for damages committed during his period of residence, and the student would then be accountable to the Faculty upon the report by the Steward of such damages.⁴ On the 7th of May, the Society passed a resolution instructing the Steward not to permit servants to go into the College after ten o'clock at night unless the Steward deemed their presence to be necessary because of illness or because of some other urgent matter.⁵ The Steward, on the other hand, apparently was not inculpable as can be seen in a remonstrance from the students against the Steward received and

¹Ibid.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 11 June 1827, 1:271.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 16 June 1827, 1:271.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 26 March 1827, 1:263.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 7 May 1827, 1:268.

considered by the Society on the 20th of March, the same date as that of the bell-ringing incident. The students complained in their remonstrance of the food, of the manner in which it was cooked, and of the great irregularity in the hours that their meals were served. Although the Steward produced specimens of bread and tea which the Society examined and found to be good, the Society found upon further investigation that the Steward had only very recently employed a good cook and that there had been a dearth of fresh provisions in the meals provided the students. The Society subsequently determined that the Steward must do his best to provide his Table with an adequate supply of "fresh as well as salt provisions: and that after the 1st of April the hours for their Meals shall be—for Breakfast, half past 7—for Dinner two o'clk P.M.—and for Tea 6 o'clk."¹ Apparently he did correct existing inadequacies, for the annual report of the Society stated that the "conduct of the present Steward has been satisfactory, and he is disposed to continue in his present situation."²

Two additional kinds of considerations requiring the attention of the Society in 1827 were the exercise of the College franchise and the conduct of the College financial affairs. At a meeting of the Society on the 9th of April, the vote of the College, to be given in by the Professor of Political Law, was given to "Col: Bassett for Congress, and Mr. Roscow Cole and Dr. Prior Richardson as representatives for James City County."³ The first meeting of the Society in 1827 devoted

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 20 March 1827, 1:259-260.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1827, 1:281.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 9 April 1827, 1:264.

to financial matters was held on the 15th of January at which time three resolutions were passed. The first of these determined that the interest of Fleming Mitchel's debt converted into capital, \$2,683.34, be applied by the Bursar towards the expenditures of the College; the second, that upon receipt of a bond of sufficient security to secure James Edwards' debt and a deed of trust on real estate, a sum of principal equal to the amount of interest of that debt which would be made principal be applied by the Bursar to the expenditures of the College; and the third, that the Bursar be authorized to contract with the College tenants and any other person for a surrender and transfer of swamp lands formerly overflowed by the Moncuin Mills in order that the College might expedite and effect a contract made with Martin Drury, Ira M. Powell, and James B. Ellett for the sale of the tracts of land on which the Moncuin Mills were erected.¹ At this same meeting, the Bursar's account was examined and allowed, noting that in addition to the Library Fund he had in hand a sum of \$2,194.99.² On the 20th of March, the Society considered a proposition detailed in a letter from James Edwards regarding his debt and "deemed it inexpedient to accede to the said Proposition";³ no further details were noted. On the 7th of May, an account in the amount of \$4.53 presented by Joseph A. Resseton was allowed and directed to be paid.⁴ On the 16th of June, the account of Professor Rogers for chemical agents and apparatus for the past two

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 15 January 1827, 1:252-253.

²Ibid., p. 253.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 20 March 1827, 1:259.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 7 May 1827, 1:268.

years was settled with a balance of \$3.06½ remaining and due from Professor Rogers to the College.¹ On the 26th of June, an account of the President in the amount of \$25.55 for monies advanced by him for (nothing more was added here) was ordered to be paid by the Bursar as was an account of Professor Browne for \$1.75 for coal.² At this same meeting the Society resolved that one half of the sum due the former President Smith for salary be paid in July 1827 and that the remaining half due him be paid on "the 1st of January 1828."³ No amount was indicated, but in the annual report of the Society to the Board of Governors and Visitors is noted the statement that "on the 1st of July instant,...there will remain due to the late President and to the present Professors, the sum of \$3,281.75."⁴ On the 27th of June the only recorded business of the Society was the receipt and examination of the Bursar's Cash account which was allowed by the Society; the amount was not indicated.⁵ It would appear that the Society was providing a wise and responsible financial leadership for the College.

The Board of Governors and Visitors convened in July and elected to its membership, probably at this time, John Page of Williamsburg;⁶ and the Board undoubtedly received at this time the annual report of the Society, for surviving manuscripts of statutes passed by this body

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 16 June 1827, 1:271.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 26 June 1827, 1:273.

³Ibid.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1827, 1:286.

⁵"Proceedings of the Society," 27 June 1827, 1:274.

⁶A Provisional List, p. 54.

on the 6th of July represent a response to the Society's report. The salary of the Professor of Humanity was increased to nine hundred dollars, payable quarterly; and he was required to engage an usher or ushers at his own cost.¹ A statute corresponding to the Society's recommendations regarding the payment of board, the payment of refunds, and the establishment of a policy permitting students to board in town was agreed upon.² The Visitors also passed a statute in conformity with the recommendation of the Society regarding the number of classes a student would be required to attend with the addition of one provision advising prerequisites for students entering the class in Natural Philosophy, a provision not noted in the resolution of the Society passed on the 3rd of January 1827:³

Be it ordained that when a student first enters college, unless he be a law student, he must attend the three junior classes; and if he should wish to attend fewer than three classes or should desire to attend the senior classes before he enters either of the classes he must apply to the faculty who will decide whether it be expedient to grant his request.

Be it further ordained that a student will not be permitted to attend a senior class who is not prepared in the necessary preliminary studies unless his age or other circumstances of much weight shall induce the society to depart from this rule.

Be it further ordained that students in the second year of their attendance at college shall attend three classes, unless the society shall deem it expedient to permit a deviation from that course.

Be it further advised that no student except those whose primary object it is to attend the Law class shall be permitted to enter the class of natural Philosophy who is not acquainted with Plane Geometry, Plane Trigonometry, and simple equations in algebra, unless the

¹Manuscript, 6 July 1827, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²Manuscript, 6 July 1827, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 3 January 1827, 1:250.

society¹ shall deem it expedient to permit a deviation from that course.

This last provision had been the source of much discord following the passage of a similar regulation by the Society on 7 July 1821, during the administration of President Smith.² The stipulation of a required number of classes and the fact that this last provision was advised and not ordained by the Board should alleviate the possibility of its becoming a source of discord a second time.

The Board also passed resolutions concerning the collection of debts due the College and appointed a committee to report on the revenues and funds of the College, resolving that all debts due the College be secured by both real and personal security, that the real security be such as would raise the debt, and that the Bursar call in the debt of any debtor who would not give real security and proceed to place it out at interest according to the prescribed rules.³ The annual report of the Society included a detailed financial report which indicated the productive funds of the College were \$122,680.41 not including an unbonded claim against the late Bursar, William Coleman, in the amount of \$7,370.00 for monies received by him but not accounted for by him in any settlement with the College. The College had instituted a suit for recovery of their claim with interest which their counsel had advised would be successful provided the facts that Coleman did secure the money and failed to account for it could be established, and these facts the

¹Manuscript, 6 July 1827, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1821, 1:95.

³Manuscript, 6 July 1827, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 50, Board of Visitors, Archives, College of William and Mary.

present Bursar maintained could be established. Of the revenues due for the year, \$6,724.60, only \$5,771.41 would actually be received leaving \$953.27 in interest uncollected. With expenditures of \$7,830.00, the College would have a deficit for the year of \$1,109.40. The Society further noted in its report that by statute the matriculation fees were for the purchase of books and for the use of the Library; but unless otherwise ordered by the Visitors, the Society would charge to the Library fund the support of a Librarian.¹ It would appear that the Society and the Board of Governors and Visitors were continuing to work in concert and were providing a wise, productive leadership for the College.

Following the meeting of the Board on the 6th, the Society met on the 7th of July and passed several resolutions. The resolution passed on 30 October 1826, which allowed the Steward \$10 for each room occupied by two students was repealed; and the accounts of Cole and Sheldon for \$18.56 and \$18.64, of Thomas Sands, Sr., for \$104.62, of Thomas Sands, Jr., for \$59.78½, and of Webb for \$13.12 were approved.² President Wilmer presented his report concerning the repairs requisite for the College and its premises and an estimate of the lowest amount needed for making these repairs, per instructions of the Society on the 11th of June;³ and the Society resolved that "Mr. Sands" (which one is not indicated) be employed by the President to make the needed repairs and that they be made under the superintendence of the Professor of

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 1 July 1827, 1:283-287.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1827, 1:275.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 11 June 1827, 1:271.

Humanity who would report to the Society when they were completed. It was further decided that one Davies would be employed to paint the President's house (whether two or three coats was to be decided by the President) and to do the necessary glazing, that the President would purchase the glass necessary for the use of the College, and that the President and the Professor of Humanity would decide on the necessary repairs for the Hall and employ a carpenter to complete the work under the superintendence of the Professor of Humanity.¹ The Society further resolved that \$75 be appropriated to the Professor of Chemistry for chemical agents and for apparatus if sufficient funds were available following the purchase of agents² and that the statute amendments regarding the Table established at the College be inserted three times in the Enquirer and the Constitutional Whig and that it be published again when the notice of the College was published.³ Meeting again on the 9th of July, the Society approved payment of two bills: Barbiza's for \$1.50 for time and Joseph Gresham's for \$110.00. The Society further resolved that the Bursar "carry into Effect" the resolution of the Board regarding payment of debts due the College and that it be certified that "Edmund Christian is the Bursar of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, and that he has full authority to receive any dividends due and unpaid on Stock of the United States belonging to the College."⁴ It would appear that the affairs of the College were in capable hands and that the College was experiencing a wise and dedicated leadership on the

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 7 July 1827, 1:275.

²Ibid., p. 277.

³Ibid., p. 275.

⁴"Proceedings of the Society," 9 July 1827, 1:277-278.

part of all the entities charged with leadership responsibilities.

Two weeks later, on Tuesday morning, the 24th of July 1827, the College community and the community of Williamsburg suffered a loss; President Wilmer died at his residence at the College "after a fortnight's illness of bilious fever."¹ According to a Church historian, during the few months President Wilmer had been in Williamsburg, he had spent all the time he could spare from his duties at the College in going about the surrounding country to look up the lost sheep of the Church; and just prior to his illness, preparatory to leaving on a journey that would take him away from Williamsburg, he rode around the parish in a heavy rain in an effort to baptize all the children, even offering to act as a sponsor when an eligible sponsor was lacking. This exposure brought on a chill and the concomitant bilious fever,² an illness which resulted in his death at only forty-three years of age.³ The historian further notes that during President Wilmer's brief period in Williamsburg, the people replaced their customary dancing parties and other popular amusements with social singing of psalms and hymns and with prayer meetings held twice a week in private homes, thereby bringing a genuine revival of religion to the College and to the city of Williamsburg.⁴ The Norfolk Beacon stated the loss sustained by the College, by the Church, and by the community in President Wilmer's death as succinctly perhaps as such a loss could be stated:

¹Richmond Enquirer, 31 July 1827.

²Wilmer, The Recent Past, p. 177.

³Memorial Tablet, Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg, Virginia.

⁴Wilmer, The Recent Past, pp. 174-176.

Died, at his residence in Williamsburg,...the Rev. William H. Wilmer, D.D., Rector of Bruton Parish, and President of William and Mary College—one of the most faithful pastors—one of the best of men. A few months only have elapsed since, leaving an endeared and affectionate flock, in Alexandria, D. C. to whom he had acceptably ministered for many years, he removed to Williamsburg, with the hope of having a more extensive sphere of usefulness than he enjoyed as a parish clergyman. The long languishing College was reviving under the salutary influence of his high character, and his judicious government, and seemed destined to regain the importance and celebrity it enjoyed in its best days; the church, for many years almost extinct, appeared about to be restored, and its scattering congregation to be once more collected; a work of grace, richly promising of good, seemed under his zealous ministrations, to be begun; when death suddenly interrupted his labors, leaving us another evidence of the uncertainty of human plans, and the vanity of human hopes....¹

Meeting on the 24th, the Society expressed grief "for the heavy calamity which has deprived them of the best and most affectionate of Friends, and the Institution of its highest support and ornament."² The Society resolved that it be communicated to Mrs. Wilmer that the Faculty desired his remains to be placed in the Chapel if this were not incompatible with her wishes; the Society further resolved that they would wear mourning for six months, and the Professor of Mathematics was ordered to communicate their resolutions to Mrs. Wilmer.³ In the annual report of the Society on 4 July 1828, it is noted that President Wilmer's family preferred that he be interred near the Altar in Bruton Parish; and the Society, of course, acquiesced and was supportive of the family's wishes, contributing monetarily to a monument to be erected in his memory in the Church on the south side of the altar:

¹Norfolk Beacon, 31 July 1827.

²"Proceedings of the Society," 24 July 1827, 1:278.

³Ibid.

The Faculty from respect of his worth and services, requested that his remains should be deposited in the Chapel, and they should have taken on the College the expense of erecting a neat monument as had been done in the case of Bishop Madison. His family however preferred that he should be interred near the Altar in the Church in which he was the much loved pastor, and the Society, believing that it would meet the sanction and approbation of the Visitors did not hesitate to contribute twenty dollars out of the college funds towards a monument¹ to his memory erected in the Church on the south side of the Altar.

That President Wilmer had gained the respect of the citizens of Williamsburg is noted in the fact that members of the various denominations united both in defraying his funeral expenses and in placing the memorial tablet on the wall of the Church.²

Two additional resolutions were passed by the Society at their meeting on the 24th of July. The first of these stipulated that paints be procured at the expense of the College with payment by the Bursar and that the President's house be painted under the superintendence of the Professor of Humanity. The second resolution noted that the manuscript copy of the laws which were to have been published under "the Inspection of the late President cannot be found, Resolved that a transcript of the same be made at the expense of the College, and that the Professor of Law have 300 Copies of them printed."³ Meeting again on the 31st of July, the Society passed two resolutions relating to Joe, the College servant. The first of these placed Joe under the control of Gresham, the Steward, and stipulated that the Steward have Joe cut sufficient

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 4 July 1828, 1:358.

²Wilmer, The Recent Past, p. 177.

³"Proceedings of the Society," 24 July 1827, 1:278.

pine and oak wood for the use of the College and store and secure it safely against pillage when sufficiently seasoned and that he keep Joe employed in and about the College and in the garden assigned to the President when not engaged in cutting or hauling wood. The second resolution stipulated that a Mr. Edloe could have the services of Joe, who had been hired by President Wilmer at \$50, for the remainder of the year, paying \$20.83 for his hire and furnishing five-twelfths of his clothing with the College paying the "residue" of his hire and furnishing seven-twelfths of his clothing.¹ A third resolution designated that the strong box of the College be deposited at the Clerk's office in Williamsburg until a President was appointed.² The tenure of the man who had served the College of William and Mary as its eleventh president had been brief, but he had given the College a quiet, strong leadership, a leadership the College needed at this particular time in her history.

With the death of William Holland Wilmer another period in the history of the College of William and Mary in Virginia came to an end, the period during which he served as her president. Was there a loss of leadership for the College during the years of Wilmer's presidency, 1826-1827? As had been true of the administrations of Presidents Madison (during the period of this study), Bracken, and Smith, whatever benefits the College may have derived from the leadership role provided by a Chancellor were denied her during this period; this leadership

¹"Proceedings of the Society," 31 July 1827, 1:279.

²Ibid.

position had remained vacant. The other three leadership positions—those of the President, the Society, and the Board of Governors and Visitors—were filled by men who worked in concert to provide for the College a strong, wise, and dedicated leadership at a time in the College's history when such a concerted leadership was critical to her regaining a sense of prestige and of leadership in the educational heirarchy of Virginia and indeed of the nation.

During this time the Grammar School enrollments increased, numbering sixty in the spring session of 1827, as did the enrollment in the higher classes which numbered nineteen. One student was awarded the degree, Bachelor of Arts; and the Society conferred the degree, Doctor of Divinity, on two Virginia clergymen. The Society assumed a tolerant yet firm posture regarding discipline and was apparently successful in persuading the recalcitrants to be less disorderly, less dissipating, and more diligent in their academic pursuits. Through a timely correspondence with parents and guardians in which they presented the adverse effects of the exodus of students in the late spring on both the Institution and the student, the Society succeeded in averting the usual exodus; and the students successfully completed their studies including the completion of their examinations in July.

The Society assumed a wise and productive leadership posture in other areas as well. The laws and statutes of the College were revised by the Society and copied in a book, both those enacted by the Society and those enacted by the Visitors; the completion of this task, originally initiated in 1821 as a task to be completed by the Board of Governors and Visitors, was long overdue. As an additional aid in disciplining the students, copies of the laws concerning the students

were printed and were to be made available in the future to each student at the beginning of each course. The Professorship of Political Law was filled by an alumnus who was later to become the thirteenth President of the College, Thomas R. Dew; and an assistant to the Professor of Humanity, although he was discharged by the Society in July, offered the study of French to the students of both the Grammar School and the higher classes, thereby incorporating the study of French into the curriculum of the College for the first time, according to available evidence, since such instruction was provided by Professor Girardin during President Madison's administration. The annual report of the Society to the Board of Governors and Visitors was complete and direct in its presentation and included a detailed statement and analysis of the College's financial status. The Society had managed the financial affairs of the College well, including the determination of a schedule for payment of salary due the former President Smith; and their reporting was done in such a way that the Board was essentially "invited" to share the responsibility for placing the College on a more desirable financial footing. The problem of competition for students among the Professors was solved by the Society's decision to regulate the number and sequence of classes required of a student each year; and this policy was subsequently endorsed by the Board of Governors and Visitors at their meeting in July.

The Board of Governors and Visitors, which elected one new member to its membership during 1827, assumed a responsible leadership posture, a posture which was both assertive and supportive. The Board took direct action regarding the College's financial status and the collection of debts due the College; it also assumed an assertive posi-

tion regarding the Grammar School by mandating a salary increase for the Professor of Humanity (who had declined an increase the preceding year) and by further mandating that he employ ushers to assist him in the Grammar School, thereby assuming a supportive position, one could assume, of offering instruction in the Romance languages as part of the College curriculum. As noted, the Board was supportive of the Society's position regarding the required number and sequence of courses and, in addition, advised requiring prerequisites for students enrolled in Natural Philosophy, a leadership posture which should serve as a deterrent to discord among members of the Society.

President Wilmer provided the College with a wise, strong and perhaps benevolent leadership. This was evident not only in his relationships with the students, with the Society, and with the Board of Governors and Visitors but with the citizens of the community of Williamsburg as well. At the beginning of his administration, he and Mrs. Wilmer entertained the citizens of Williamsburg for the purpose of introducing the students to them; and during the first few months of his administration, he achieved a position of influence among the citizens to the extent that he, as a committee appointed by the Society, successfully induced the citizens of Williamsburg to provide board for the students for the coming year and to do so at a scheduled fee no greater than that charged by the College.

President Wilmer gained a position of influence among the citizens of Williamsburg in other respects. With his appointment, the Board of Governors and Visitors returned to the tradition of electing a member of the clergy of the Episcopal Church to the Presidency of the College; and in selecting the College's eleventh President, the Board

chose a man who had been influential in the affairs of the Church to a rare degree, both in Virginia and in the Church at large. This influence he undoubtedly continued to exercise in fulfilling his dual role as President of the College of William and Mary and as Rector of Bruton Parish in Williamsburg. Prior to accepting the Presidency of the College, he had been vitally interested both in education and in rebuilding the power and influence of the Episcopal Church in Virginia; and one could assume with a marked degree of certainty that the reuniting of the Theological School with the College of William and Mary was both a major impetus for his having accepted the Presidency of the College and a major objective of his administration.

Unfortunately, the diseases which seemed to have been rampant among the students even as late as 25 June ended abruptly and at a very early age, forty-three, the tenure of this President who had provided for the College a strong and wise leadership. It is the view of the author that the College did not experience a loss of leadership during the brief administration of William Holland Wilmer; for it was a period filled with promise for the College of William and Mary. The even tenor and successful nature of his Presidency was evident in the leadership provided individually and collectively by all three of the entities charged with the responsibility of providing for the welfare of the College; and although two of these leadership entities were still present and were fully capable of continuing to provide a wise and strong leadership for the College, the hope expressed by William Meade upon declining the request that he serve the College as her twelfth President, is the hope of the author in concluding the portrayal of the history of the College of William and Mary in Virginia during the admin-

istration of William Holland Wilmer, 1826-1827: "I sincerely hope they may succeed in getting a worthy successor to Dr. Wilmer...."¹

Beginning with a look at the College as we found it in 1800 and proceeding chronologically through the administrations of President Madison, to 1812; President Bracken, 1812-1814; President Smith, 1814-1826; and President Wilmer, 1826-1827, the purpose of this study has been to relate the history of the College of William and Mary in Virginia during the first twenty-seven years of the nineteenth century and to examine the history during each of these four administrations in terms of the leadership the College experienced in an effort to ascertain the extent to which, if any, the College experienced a loss of leadership during the period of this study, 1800-1827. To conclude this study, we look at a summary analysis of the extent to which the College experienced a loss of leadership as revealed in the portrayal of her history during the early years of the nineteenth century, 1800-1827.

¹William Meade to Hugh Nelson, [—] 1827, Manuscripts Collection, Virginia Historical Society.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION: A SUMMARY ANALYSIS, 1800-1827

Was there a loss of leadership for the College of William and Mary during the period of this study, the first twenty-seven years of the nineteenth century, 1800-1827? Evidence for these years is fragmented, making it difficult, if not impossible, both to portray the history of the College with the degree of accuracy and certainty one would desire and to make a valid analysis of the extent to which, if any, the College experienced a loss of leadership during this period. On the basis of the evidence that is available, however, a limited perspective of the history of the College during this time is possible; and on the basis of the history thus portrayed, this summary analysis of the leadership experienced by the College during this time is made.

Within the context of the Charter, four entities may be identified as occupying leadership positions for the College of William and Mary in Virginia: the Chancellor, the Board of Governors and Visitors, the Society, and the President. During the period of this study, the leadership position of the Chancellor was vacant; therefore, throughout this period the College was denied whatever benefits she may have de-

rived from the leadership role provided by a Chancellor, nominally the titular head of the College. Since this position had been filled during the preceding years of the College's history, except the years during and immediately following the Revolution, 1777-1787, the absence of an individual occupying this leadership position represented a loss of leadership which may have been provided by this leadership role during the period of this study.

The Board of Governors and Visitors, apparently a nonfunctioning entity during the last five years of the eighteenth century, convened early in 1800 in response to President Madison's request and elected thirteen members, each of whom lived within relative proximity to the College, a factor which Madison had long viewed as being essential to a wise, effective, and expedient leadership on the part of a Board of Governors and Visitors for the College. Eight other gentlemen were elected to membership on the Board during the remaining years of Madison's administration; and three members were elected in 1812, presumably after Madison's death in March of this year. Thus, it could be assumed that the Board of Governors and Visitors maintained a full membership during the last twelve years of Madison's administration, 1800-1812; and on the basis of the history of the College during this period, this body assumed an active role in conducting the affairs of the College, the extent of its leadership and the wisdom of its leadership apparently varying.

During the administration of President Bracken, 1812-1814, the Board of Governors and Visitors exercised a strong leadership role; in fact, without the leadership exercised by this body, one is forced to question whether or not the College could have survived during this

period. Although the election of Bracken to the presidency was the decision of the Board, this author believes that the basis for their choice of a successor to President Madison and the extent to which the Board had any real choice in selecting a successor cannot validly be determined. One must concede, however, that their choice apparently was not a wise one. At some point in 1814 during the process of securing President Bracken's resignation and appointing his successor, the Board either added six additional members to its membership, at least three of whom were alumni of the College, or elected six members who may or may not have replaced other members of the Board.

During the administration of President Smith, the Board of Governors and Visitors assumed a strong, aggressive, yet cooperative leadership posture and was essentially supportive of President Smith from the very beginning of his administration, assigning to him authority and responsibilities previously determined to be within the province of the Society. Infrequently, the Board had instituted expedients essentially opposed to President Smith's policies and procedures but in most instances had not acted as expeditiously as it should have for the general welfare of the College, particularly in the instances of permitting a period of six years to lapse before securing an accounting of the financial status of the College and of allowing negative public reaction to Smith's disciplinary policies to become widespread. Throughout this period the Board apparently maintained a full complement of members; and among the seventeen members elected to its membership during President Smith's administration, six members lived somewhat distant from Williamsburg, a factor which perhaps contributed to the failure of the Board to convene for three years during a most critical period in the

history of the College although the acquiescence of the Board to President Smith's dominant leadership posture was probably the primary reason for this body's lengthy abdication of its leadership role. When the Board did convene in 1824, the factor of distance from the College and proximity to Richmond among the Board's membership was undoubtedly a contributing factor both in the Board's acquiescence to President Smith by agreeing to petition the Legislature for authority to change the site of the College and in the proceedings of the Board leading up to and following the adoption of this posture. When the Board finally resumed its assigned leadership role in 1825 following the defeat of the petition to which it had acquiesced, it proceeded to implement policies and to institute expedients recommended by some of its own members and by members of the Society most of which were contradictory to the leadership posture assumed by President Smith and which resulted in a reversal of his leadership position. Thus, as the administration of President Smith drew to a close, the Board of Governors and Visitors was functioning as a strong, aggressive leadership entity with identifiable goals designed to promote the welfare of the College of William and Mary; however, the overall leadership role exercised by this body during the administration of President Smith must be characterized as being strong and aggressive but cooperative to the point of submission to the dominant leadership posture of President Smith. When compared to the leadership this body could have and should have exercised, the College experienced a loss of leadership on the part of this leadership entity.

The strong, aggressive leadership posture which the Board of Governors and Visitors assumed as the administration of President Smith drew to a close continued during the administration of his successor,

William Holland Wilmer. During President Wilmer's brief administration, the Board elected one new member to its membership, thereby bringing it to a full membership status one would assume. The Board assumed an assertive leadership posture and was thorough in the execution of its leadership role. The Board was also supportive of both President Wilmer and the Society, the three entities seeming to work in concert to provide a strong, wise, and dedicated leadership at a time in the College's history when such a concerted leadership was critical to her regaining a sense of prestige and of leadership in the educational hierarchy of Virginia and indeed of the nation.

In summary, the leadership exercised by the Board of Governors and Visitors during the period of this study fluctuated, being varied both in degree and in wisdom during President Madison's administration; being strong and perhaps the sole leadership experienced by the College during President Bracken's administration; being strong and aggressive but cooperative to the point of submission to President Smith and even abdication of responsibilities for a period of three years during President Smith's administration; and being strong and aggressive but supportive of both the Society and the President during President Wilmer's administration. Except for a three-year period during President Smith's administration, the Board was apparently an active leadership entity during the period of this study; but the Board's abdication of its responsibilities during this three-year period came at an extremely critical time in the history of the College; and even if this body had exercised the strongest and wisest leadership throughout the other years of this study, one would be forced to conclude that the College did experience to a degree a loss of leadership on the part of this entity

charged with providing for the welfare of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, the Board of Governors and Visitors.

The Society, whose membership comprised the President and Professors and Masters of the College, exercised a varied leadership role during the period of this study. During the administration of President Madison, 1800-1812, the Society experienced some changes in its membership although overall the makeup of the Society was stable. The loss of St. George Tucker as Professor of Law early in this period was assuredly a serious loss; yet the College immediately filled this vacancy with the election of William Nelson, and the lectures in Law continued; the number enrolled was sustained and even increased, and the number of students who earned the degree of Bachelor of Law increased as well. Apparently lectures in Romance languages were not available to the students for a period of two or three years at the beginning of the nineteenth century; but with the election of Professor Girardin to the Society in 1803, the College offered the full complement of lectures available earlier and actually increased its offerings with the addition of lectures in Civil History and in Natural History. The Grammar School continued to function, and additional personnel were sought and apparently employed to assist Professor Bracken with instruction for the Grammar School scholars. The total number of students enrolled at the College during these years (1800-1812) was approximately 724, an average of fifty-six as compared with a total of approximately 303 and an average of twenty-three during a preceding period (1786-1799) of Madison's presidency. The total number of degrees awarded during this period (1800-1812) was forty-seven as compared with a total of twenty-one during the preceding years (1783-1799). A major disciplinary

infraction with which the Society had to concern itself during this period was the rather frequent and headline-making infraction of dueling. The extent and the wisdom of the leadership role provided by the Society during this time is uncertain; however, on the basis of available evidence it would appear that although occasional leadership and strong support for the policies of the College and for the President are indicated, a definite lack and perhaps loss of leadership on the part of the Society did exist. On the basis of some evidence one could even infer that at least one member of the Society was considered to be detrimental to the welfare of the College, its reputation, and its students.

During the administration of President Bracken, the Society, to the extent that this body actually existed, must have exercised a leadership role; for in spite of the loss of a beloved Professor of Law and in spite of vacant professorships, the College did survive. President Bracken, who had been Professor of Humanity at the time of his appointment as President, apparently did not function as a Professor in the College in any capacity during his administration, serving only as President and as Chaplain of the College; and the Grammar School apparently closed and remained closed during the period of his presidency. In spite of the reduced number of students this represented and in spite of the fact that the War of 1812 for at least three reasons undoubtedly reduced the number of young men who may have matriculated at William and Mary—voluntary enlistment on the part of eager and patriotic young men; required registration by the Legislature of all eligible young men, including those enrolled in College; and matriculation of Virginia youth in institutions in sister states not legislatively mandating registra-

tion of young men enrolled in College, the enrollment at the College during President Bracken's two-year administration was fifty-three and the number of degrees awarded was sixteen.

During the administration of President Smith, the Society, it would appear, was dominated by the leadership posture of President Smith to whom the Board of Governors and Visitors delegated a number of leadership responsibilities previously assumed by this body. The members of the Society were observed and evaluated both personally and professionally by President Smith, a procedure which engendered controversy throughout his administration and which led to the resignation of Professor Jones in 1817. Jones' successor, Professor Hare, was involved in a controversy concerning fees; and the Society's lack of wisdom in this controversy resulted in the exodus, both by expulsion and by choice, of a large number of students shortly after Hare's arrival. With the appointment in 1819 of Professor Rogers as Hare's successor and of Professor Semple as Professor of Law, the membership of the Society was stabilized. Throughout President Smith's administration the Chair of Romance Languages remained unfilled; and the Grammar School, which supposedly reopened in 1819 with the appointment of Professor Keith, was not really reestablished at the College until 1825 with the appointment of Professor Browne, the appointment of Professor Keith, whose entrance in 1819 and exit in 1823 went almost unnoticed, being in reality an attempt on the part of President Smith to reestablish the Chair of Divinity at the College of William and Mary. The total number of students enrolled during President Smith's administration was approximately 621, an average of fifty-two students; and the number of degrees awarded during his twelve-year administration was twenty-nine. A major problem

which confronted the Society during much of President Smith's administration and which was extant at the end of his administration was the general exodus of students at the end of the academic year with a concomitant decrease in the number of students present at the administration of examinations and in the number qualifying for and earning academic degrees. The problem of dueling which had been a major concern for the Society during President Madison's administration, apparently was not a problem confronting the Society during President Smith's administration. In spite of evidence of much bickering and pettiness which characterized the Society during President Smith's administration, this body provided a concerned and supportive leadership for the College. In fact, the cooperative support given President Smith by the Society was rather remarkable in light of the authority and power he managed to appropriate to himself during most of his administration. Following the defeat of the petition for removal and the assumption of a strong, aggressive leadership posture by the Board of Governors and Visitors, the Society assumed a similar leadership posture, thereby contributing to a reversal of President Smith's leadership posture and a resumption of the power previously deemed to be within the province of the Society; and, as President Smith's administration drew to a close, the Society as well as the Board of Governors and Visitors had assumed a strong leadership posture in the conduct of the affairs of the College of William and Mary.

During President Wilmer's administration, the Society continued the strong, aggressive leadership posture it had assumed near the end of President Smith's administration and resolved a number of problems which the leadership of the previous administration had apparently been unable

to resolve. The laws and statutes of the College were revised by the Society and copied in a book, both those enacted by the Society and those enacted by the Visitors; this was a task initiated by the Board of Governors and Visitors in 1821 as a task to be completed by the Board. The Society successfully managed the financial affairs of the College, including the determination of a schedule for payment of salary due the former President Smith, and submitted a complete, thorough accounting and analysis of the College's financial status in its annual report to the Board, presenting the analysis in such a way that the Board was essentially invited to share the responsibility for placing the College on a more desirable financial footing. The Society solved the problem of competition for students among the Professors by regulating the number and sequence of classes required of a student each year. The Professorship of Political Law was filled by an alumnus who later became the thirteenth President of the College, Thomas Roderick Dew; and the Romance languages were again incorporated into the curriculum through the auspices of an assistant to the Professor of Humanity who provided instruction in French to both the Grammar School scholars and the students in the upper classes. The enrollment during President Wilmer's brief administration was seventy-nine, sixty of whom were Grammar School scholars; one student was awarded the bachelor's degree, and the Society conferred the degree, Doctor of Divinity, on two Virginia clergymen. The Society assumed a tolerant but firm posture regarding discipline and determined that in the future a student would be given a copy of the laws relating specifically to the students at the beginning of each course and had three hundred copies of the laws made for this purpose. Through a timely correspondence with parents and guardians, the Society

succeeded in averting the general exodus of students near the end of the academic year, a practice which had become prevalent during recent years. One must conclude that the Society exercised a strong, wise, and productive leadership role during President Wilmer's one-year administration.

In summary, the leadership exercised by the Society during the period of this study fluctuated, being varied in degree and wisdom to the extent of exhibiting a definite lack and perhaps loss of leadership during President Madison's administration; being assuredly strong to the extent that this body even existed during President Bracken's administration; being supportive and concerned but dominated by the leadership posture of President Smith during most of President Smith's administration but becoming strong, aggressive, and free of Smith's domination near the end of his administration; and being strong, wise, and productive during President Wilmer's administration. Throughout the period, this leadership entity exercised a vacillating leadership; and except for the brief period at the end of President Smith's administration and the one-year administration of President Wilmer, one would be forced to conclude that the College did experience a loss of leadership, although varying in degree, on the part of this entity charged with providing for the welfare of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, the Society.

The leadership position of President was filled by four Virginians during the period of this study, 1800-1827. The first of these gentlemen, James Madison, was much loved and respected, being not only the President of the College of William and Mary but also the first Bishop of the Episcopal Church for the Diocese of Virginia; and many feared that his death in March 1812 would be a fatal blow to the Col-

lege. His tenure as President of the College extended from 1777 to 1812; and during the period of this study in spite of ill and later declining health, in spite of an interval of apparent interest in leaving the College, and in spite of the multitude of responsibilities imposed upon him by his various offices with the College and with the Church, he did provide the College, one must conclude, with a decided leadership which strongly aided in her survival during a most difficult period in her history. His willingness to respond quickly, intelligently, wisely, and publicly (even if anonymously at times) to the criticisms of her policies, her procedures, and her students; his willingness to fight, to plan, even to scheme to meet her needs and to defend her position; his apparently unceasing interest in the acquisition of knowledge, in the pursuit of science, and in the search for truth which acquired for him a national and even an international reputation as a philosopher or scientist; his apparent indefatigable patience, firmness, and gentleness in guiding and caring for his young charges while at the same time providing them with the opportunity for the freedom of thought and action necessary for them to become honorable men and leaders among men; his apparent ability to transfer to his students his own enthusiasm and thirst for knowledge, particularly scientific knowledge; and the leadership position he held as Bishop of the Episcopal, though Disestablished, Church certainly assign to him an indisputable and much deserved leadership role. Insofar as he was able to determine and to control the affairs of the College, the College did not suffer a loss of leadership during this period of his administration, 1800-1812. In fact, considering the number of students attending and the number completing the requirements for a degree, this was a period of growth for

the College in spite of evident adversity; and this growth was undoubtedly attributable to the leadership exercised by James Madison in fulfilling his responsibilities in providing for the welfare of the College of William and Mary in Virginia as her President.

Lacking, one would assume, much evidence and possessing so little, one is reluctant to evaluate the contributions of the second gentleman to serve as President of the College during the period of this study; however, in light of the evidence that is available, one must conclude that during the administration of John Bracken, the College suffered from a loss of leadership on the part of her President. At the time of his election to the presidency, Professor Bracken was certainly the senior member of the Society in terms of years of service to the College; he was also a member of the Episcopal clergy, having occupied several of the highest positions in the Diocese of Virginia and occupying at the time of his election the rectorship of Bruton Parish. Was perhaps his state of health such that he was never physically able to provide a leadership role for the College? During his presidency he was still actively involved in the affairs of the Church and in pursuing personal financial interests and conducting personal affairs. He apparently did not serve the College as a Professor during his Presidency, only as her Chaplain and as her President. Perhaps his election was only nominal, and he was not given an opportunity to provide leadership; yet deference to his interests, welfare, and position is indicated in the Board's request for his resignation in 1814. In light of the available evidence, these questions cannot be answered; and one is forced to accept the fact that he did not provide for the College the leadership his position rightfully demanded. One must conclude that the

College of William and Mary in Virginia experienced a loss of leadership on the part of her ninth President, John Bracken, during his tenure as President of the College and that without the leadership exercised by the Board of Governors and Visitors, one is forced to question whether or not the College could have survived during the period of his presidency.

John Augustine Smith, the first lay President in the history of the College, assumed a strong leadership posture as President of the College of William and Mary from the very beginning of his administration; however, the manner in which he chose to expedite his leadership responsibilities apparently was not always in the best interest of the College. In his relationship with the students, he was less than tolerant, so much so that the Board of Governors and Visitors felt compelled to intercede and to limit by Statute the disciplining of students to the corporate actions of the Society. In his relationship with the Society, he assumed a dominant leadership role, appropriating to himself powers which had previously resided within the province of this body. He further obtained authority from the Board, by Statute, to observe and to evaluate the conduct and performance of the members of the Society, both professionally and personally, a practice viewed with disdain by other members of the Society; he himself was a Professor and a member of the Society. In his relationship with the Board of Governors and Visitors, he was able to appropriate to himself, by Statute, powers and authority which had previously resided with the Society. In the guise of reopening the Grammar School, he succeeded in having the Board establish a professorship undoubtedly designed in his mind to evolve into reestablishing the Chair of Divinity at the College. Fol-

lowing this maneuver, so strong was his leadership posture that he successfully presided over the affairs of the College without the benefit of the semiannual or the annual meetings of the Board of Governors and Visitors for a three-year period, 1821-1824, and retained his leadership role among the members of the Society during this time in spite of petty bickerings and apparent jealousies extant among members of this body. Subsequently, in the year 1824, he succeeded in convincing both the Society and the Board, the leadership entity that had not met for three years, that in light of the imminent opening of the University of Virginia, the survival of the College of William and Mary depended on their obtaining from the Legislature of Virginia the authority to change the site of the College, an authority presumed by many to have resided from the time of the College's conception within the governing bodies of the College.

In his relationship with the alumni and with the friends of the College in the Legislature, President Smith was cognizant of their power and courted their influence. He solicited the advice of Jefferson early in his administration regarding a choice of texts related to Jefferson's area of experience and expertise and kept open channels of communication with Jefferson and with Cabell as long as he deemed such channels beneficial to his objectives for the College of William and Mary and probably much longer than such channels were of benefit to the Alma Mater of these two gentlemen. His confidence in the loyalty of friends and alumni of the College in the Legislature and a concomitant belief in their being constantly aware of and instituting actions to the advantage of the College of William and Mary at propitious times was evident in his response to the Faculty of Hampden and Sydney College in 1821. An

instance of his reliance on the loyalty of the alumni having served to the disadvantage of the College was his failure to include in his response to Governor Nicholas in 1816 a sound argument for the College of William and Mary being designated the university for Virginia, apparently believing at this point that he could rely on the alumni and friends of the College, including Jefferson and Cabell, to project these arguments for him and apparently being unaware both that Nicholas had solicited and received Jefferson's views prior to addressing his circular letter to numerous esteemed educators and government officials and that Jefferson's objectives placed the evolution of Central College to university status for Virginia and not his Alma Mater, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.

Did the College experience a loss of leadership on the part of President Smith during his tenure as President? On the basis of available evidence, one cannot know the intent of President Smith's leadership tactics; but it is the view of the author that the motives behind his actions were in his view in the best interest of the College, that he was a good administrator who viewed the College of William and Mary as the rightful heir to the status of the university for Virginia, who viewed the reestablishment of the Chair of Divinity and the Chair of Medicine as an integral part of the College's university status and of her role in providing an education for the youth of Virginia, and who viewed the reestablishment of the Chair of Divinity as part of the College's heritage and of her responsibility to the Disestablished Church of Virginia. He could be viewed simply as an ambitious egoist who was interested only in position and power and in increased monetary rewards, and these traits did characterize his leadership posture;

however, it is the view of the author that his primary motivations were the former and that he did provide the College with a strong, dedicated, though coercive, leadership which included compromise to the extent of changing the locale of the College of William and Mary from Williamsburg to Charlottesville in order to ensure the continuation of her rightful heritage as the university for Virginia. With the failure of this compromise attempt to change the locale of the College came a reversal in his leadership posture and his subsequent resignation as President of the College. In light of the successes noted in the early years of President Smith's administration and in light of a strong leadership posture during the later years when conflict among the entities charged with leadership responsibilities became quite evident, one is inclined to conclude that had he not employed such a strong coercive leadership style perhaps the later years of his administration would have been more successful and his tenure as President of the College much longer and perhaps more rewarding for him and for the College; but at no time did the College experience a loss of leadership on the part of President Smith although a reversal in his leadership posture through changes by Statute in his leadership role placed him in the position of viewing resignation as being a more desirable expedient than continuing to serve the College of William and Mary as her President.

William Holland Wilmer provided the College of William and Mary with a wise, strong, and perhaps benevolent leadership during his brief tenure as President; and with his election the Board of Governors and Visitors returned to the tradition of electing a member of Episcopal clergy to serve as President of the College. Prior to accepting the Presidency of the College, he had been vitally interested both in educa-

tion and in rebuilding the power and influence of the Episcopal Church in Virginia; and the reuniting of the Theological School with the College of William and Mary was, in all probability, both a major impetus for his having accepted the Presidency of the College and a major objective of his administration. In fulfilling his dual role as President of the College of William and Mary and as Rector of Bruton Parish in Williamsburg, he attained a position of influence among the citizens of Williamsburg to the extent that he, as a Committee appointed by the Society, successfully induced the citizens of Williamsburg during the early months of his administration to provide board for the students and to do so at a scheduled fee no greater than that charged by the College. Through the exercise of the leadership of his office in cooperation with that of the Society, a number of problems were resolved which had remained unresolved during the preceding administration. In light of the leadership experienced by the College during his administration on the part of all three entities charged with providing for the welfare of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, one can only conclude that the College did not experience a loss of leadership on the part of President Wilmer during his brief tenure as President.

In summary, the leadership exercised by the President during the period of this study was as varied and as individual as the Presidents themselves; and the leadership experienced by the College on the part of this leadership entity fluctuated from a total loss of leadership to no loss of leadership, from a leadership posture of almost no involvement in the affairs of the College to a dominant leadership posture in the conduct of all the affairs of the College. President Madison, we must conclude, provided the College with a decided leadership which strongly

aided in her survival during a most difficult period in her history; and insofar as he was able to determine and to control the affairs of the College, the College did not suffer a loss of leadership during the period of his administration, 1800-1812. President Bracken, one must conclude, did not provide for the College the leadership his position rightfully demanded. In fact, in light of available evidence, he provided no leadership for the College during his presidency; and without the leadership exercised by the Board of Governors and Visitors, one is forced to question whether or not the College could have survived during the period of his administration, 1812-1814. President Smith, one must conclude, provided the College with a strong, dedicated, coercive leadership, assuming the dominant leadership posture in the conduct of the affairs of the College throughout his administration until the failure of the compromise attempt to change the site of the College resulted in a reversal of his leadership posture through changes, by Statute, in his leadership role. At no time, however, did the College experience a loss of leadership on the part of President Smith although one could and should question the quality and wisdom of his leadership at various times during the period of his administration, 1814-1826. President Wilmer, one must conclude, did provide for the College a wise, strong, and perhaps benevolent leadership during his brief tenure as President. The even tenor and successful nature of his Presidency were evident in the leadership provided individually and collectively by all three of the entities charged with the responsibility of providing for the welfare of the College, and the College did not suffer a loss of leadership during the period of his administration, 1826-1827. In light of the wide fluctuations in the leadership experienced by the College on the

part of her four Presidents, one would be forced to conclude that during the period of this study the College did, at times, experience a loss of leadership on the part of this leadership entity charged with providing for the welfare of The College of William and Mary in Virginia, her President.

One cannot conclude an analysis of the leadership experienced by the College during the period of this study without noting the leadership the College experienced on the part of two entities not specifically charged with the responsibility of providing for her welfare, the community of Williamsburg and the alumni. During the period of this study the College continued to be an integral part of the community of Williamsburg, to the detriment of the students in the light of some evidence and to their decided advantage in light of other evidence. Though Williamsburg no longer served as the heartbeat of the nation and, by this period in her history, apparently was beginning to show signs, physical and otherwise, of her loss as the bustling social and political center of the Commonwealth, the advantages afforded the College and its students by the community of Williamsburg and its citizens outweighed the disadvantages; and overall, the two entities, the community and the College, were mutually supportive, each providing a needed leadership role for the other. This was particularly true of the community of Williamsburg which provided, at one point during President Smith's administration in 1824, the only leadership the College had at that particular time; for no single entity charged with providing leadership for the College was functioning in this capacity if the leadership needed was that which would ensure her survival and her continued prosperity in Williamsburg. The protective nature of the attitude of

the citizenry was again evident in July of 1825 when this body requested the Board to change the location of its annual meeting to a room that would accommodate the presence of representatives of the community of Williamsburg at the Board's meetings. This request was denied, but the expression of concern by the citizenry for the College's welfare undoubtedly did redound to the benefit of the College as was reflected only two years later in the cooperation of the citizens with President Wilmer in the College's attempts to secure board for the students in the community of Williamsburg at a cost that did not increase the fees a student attending William and Mary had to pay, a factor which had been a source of controversy for many years.

The alumni, a group usually associated with occupying a leadership role in the affairs of a college or university, exercised both a positive and a negative influence on the College during the period of this study. Those among her sons who were expelled for infractions of the rules and regulations or who intentionally left the College without completing the academic year or taking the examinations exerted, of course, a negative influence on the College. An equally positive and more numerous influence were her many sons who did become "shining ornaments" in the state and in the nation, reflecting proudly on her continuing ability to produce leaders for the Commonwealth and for the young and emerging nation. Her most famous alumnus, Thomas Jefferson, occupied a dual leadership role, a positive role and a negative role. As an alumnus who, earlier in her history, is credited with having made significant contributions to the curricular structure of the College; as an alumnus who had very early achieved eminence in the affairs of the state and of the nation; and as an alumnus who, during part of this

period, was President of the United States, Jefferson certainly provided a positive influence for the College and, as an alumnus, occupied a leadership role. During the administration of James Madison, however, the widespread rumors among the people, unfounded or not, concerning his deistic tendencies, his financial mismanagement and manipulations, his personal relationships together with his frequent malignment by the press during his presidency could only have served as a negative influence on the College at the time.

During the administration of President Smith, the alumni played a critical role in the history of the College through the leadership exercised by this group; and throughout this period the loyalties of this group were divided, some favoring and assisting in the creation of a new university in Charlottesville with the College of William and Mary maintaining its historical status in Williamsburg; others favoring the College in Williamsburg being and/or becoming the university for Virginia; others favoring the removal of the College to Richmond to assume a rival status to the new university in Charlottesville; and others, in the view of the author, favoring the removal of the College to the new physical plant for the university in Charlottesville. Among the members of this group exerting a negative influence, the greatest foes of the College were two of her alumni who were dedicated to the creation of a new university in Charlottesville (with a hand-picked faculty whose talents in their view far exceeded those of any of the members of the Society at William and Mary) and who proposed legislation for the discontinuance of the College of William and Mary on 1 November 1826, with her resources to be distributed among ten colleges to be established at specific locales throughout the state and her physical

plant to house one of these, the College of Williamsburg; these two gentlemen were Thomas Jefferson and Joseph Carrington Cabell. For Jefferson, at the age of eighty-two, the opening of the new university in Charlottesville and the apparently unanticipated opportunity of utilizing the resources of the College of William and Mary to create for the university a supportive system of colleges to be dispersed throughout the state was the realization of a three-tiered system of education for the State of Virginia which had met with defeat since its plan was first drafted by him and presented to the Legislature of Virginia in 1779. In 1825, however, the College of William and Mary was no longer at the apex of his plan as she had been in the plan's original design in 1779. For a number of years Jefferson had repeatedly characterized William and Mary's location as being in an unhealthy part of the state and as lacking the centrality needed for the state university; and at the age of eighty-two, he was apparently willing to do whatever was necessary, including the discontinuance of his Alma Mater, in order to achieve his objective. In Cabell, Jefferson found the political acuity to make his objective a reality. Fortunately for William and Mary, there were other alumni in the Legislature who had the political acuity and the wisdom to admit that Cabell and Jefferson had outmaneuvered them and who were willing to defeat the measure for removal before Cabell and Jefferson's bill for discontinuance could be submitted to the floor. Thus, the alumnus who could have been the College's greatest asset and her greatest friend was, in reality, her greatest enemy during the years of President Smith's administration. Fortunately for the College, other alumni were equally as ardent and loyal as friends.

In summary, one must conclude that these two external entities, the community of Williamsburg and the alumni of the College, neither of whom was charged with the responsibility of providing for the welfare of the College of William and Mary, did exercise a leadership role which exerted an influence on both the course of her history during the period of this study and on the leadership role exercised by those entities specifically charged with the responsibility of providing a leadership which would ensure the welfare and prosperity of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. One must further conclude that the leadership exercised by these two entities represented, at times, a loss of leadership for the College of William and Mary in Virginia during the years 1800-1827.

Did the College of William and Mary experience a loss of leadership during the period of this study, the first twenty-seven years of the nineteenth century, 1800-1827? One must conclude that she did. At times, she experienced a loss of leadership on the part of one or more of the entities charged with leadership responsibilities; at times, she experienced a coercive leadership which had a widespread negative influence on the welfare of the College; at times, she experienced a well-intentioned perhaps but misdirected leadership; at times, particularly at crucial moments, she experienced a leadership on the part of entities not specifically charged with leadership, both a negative and a positive leadership; and at times, she experienced a strong, wise, productive leadership, the result of a concerted leadership posture on the part of the entities charged with the responsibility of providing for her welfare and prosperity. Yet, at no time did The College of William and Mary in Virginia experience a total loss of leadership dur-

ing the period of this study, 1800-1827; and in spite of the fact that a new university for Virginia had opened its doors, in the view of the Society the new university had not superseded The College of William and Mary in Virginia. In their view the College was a rival to the University in Charlottesville, and the validity of assumptions regarding benefits which could be derived from attending that institution rather than The College of William and Mary in Virginia "remained yet to be seen." Perhaps this same view is true today, one hundred fifty-three years later.

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